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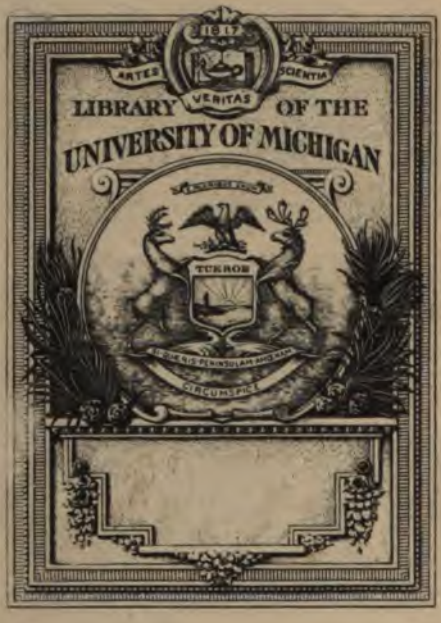
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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Royal Society of Literature

OF

THE UNITED KINGDOM.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE.

I.—ON ANCIENT GALLEYS, AND THEIR MODE OF PROPULSION.

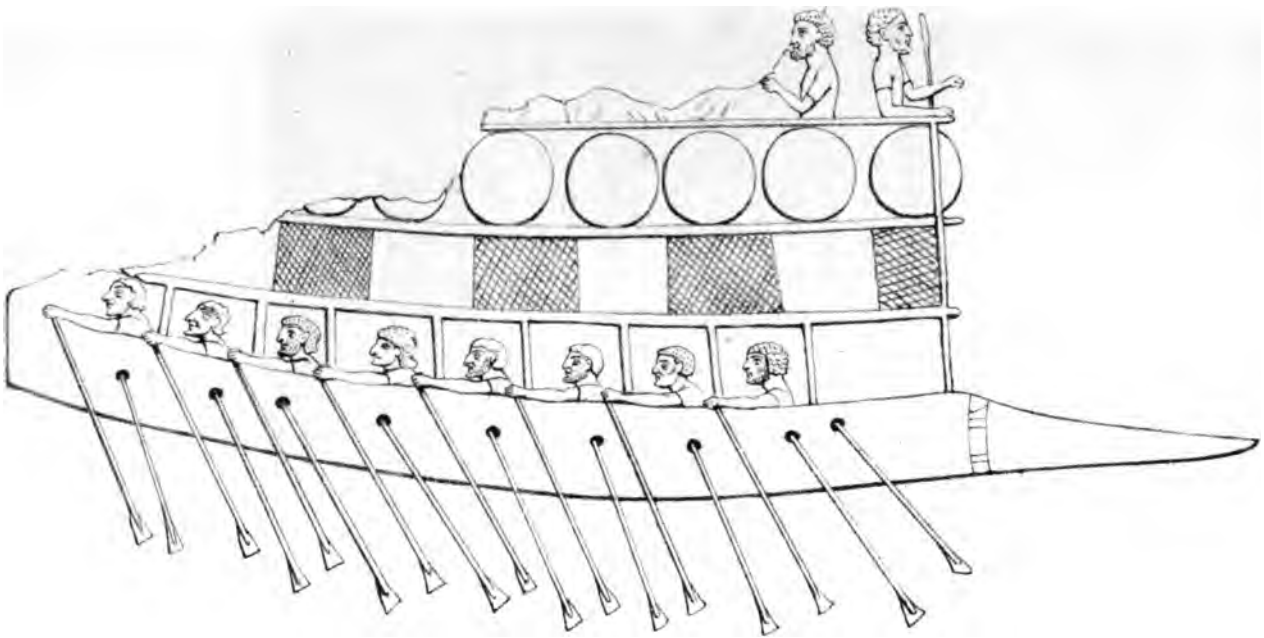
(Read February 15, 1871.)

[THE following paper will form a part of a large and important work on the shipping of all nations, for which my friend Mr. Lindsay has been during some years collecting materials: I am induced to read it to you this evening because, while examining some of Mr. Lindsay's papers his views on the manner in which the oars were arranged in ancient galleys—in other words, on the way in which the motive power was utilized in the case of Triremes, etc.—appeared novel, and tending materially to solve a problem from all time a puzzle to the learned. Mr. Lindsay has kindly acceded to my request, that he would allow me to make such use of his papers on this subject as I thought best: I shall now, therefore, read to you such portions as I think will most clearly convey his meaning to the Society.

I ought perhaps to add, as many of you may not be

aware of this fact, that the writer, Mr. Lindsay, was once well known in the commercial world of England as an extensive shipowner, and that he sat in Parliament for the Tynemouth boroughs, and afterwards for Sunderland, for fourteen years. He has now for some years been confined to his arm-chair by the severe affliction of paralysis in his lower limbs, and the work of which I am now going to give you some extracts has been the study and the amusement of a mind which retains its intellectual powers unimpaired.—W. S. W. V.]

FRONTISPIECE



ON ANCIENT GALLEYS, AND THEIR MODE OF PROPULSION.

BY W. S. LINDSAY, ESQ.

Frequent reference has been made in the course of this work to the row-galleys of the ancients, and no subject connected with shipping has called forth more conflicting opinions: nor is this surprising. Most ancient writers who refer to it are less or more at variance with each other; while the engravings on coins and monumental sculptures are generally so confused and contradictory that they afford little assistance in its elucidation. Within the last two centuries numerous authors have endeavoured to solve the problem how these galleys were classed and rowed, and to establish a system of propulsion which, while applicable to every class, would harmonize with the accounts preserved of the size of these vessels and of the number of rowers employed on board of them. Ancient Galleys.

Galleys appear to have been rated by their banks of oars, that is, uniremes had one, biremes two, triremes three, quadriremes four, quinqueremes five, hexiremes six, septiremes seven, octoremes eight, and so forth, up to the enormous ship, with forty banks of rowers, built by Ptolemy Philopater. But the chief point of controversy has been what constituted a bank or *tier*. Different descriptions.

According to Homer, the Greek fleet at the siege of Troy consisted entirely of uniremes. They were

184. then undecked, with the exception of a platform at each end on which the archers or principal fighting men stood; and were guided by oars or sweeps at both extremities, so as to ensure rapid evolution. Pliny
00. states that the Erythræans were the first who built
86. biremes. Various ancient writers give the Corinthians the credit for having been the first to construct triremes. "And now Greece," remarks Thucydides,[1] "began to construct navies and to apply herself more assiduously to nautical affairs. The first who introduced a change in the structure of vessels, so as to form them very nearly in the present mode, are said to have been the Corinthians; and *triremes* are thought to have been built first for Greece at Corinth. It appears, too, that Amiocles, a Corinthian ship-builder, also constructed four such vessels for the Samians."

50. Although triremes, in the time of Thucydides, and for some centuries afterwards, were more approved for purposes of war than any other description of vessel, the authority of Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Athenæus, Polybius, and others, is sufficient proof that vessels of four, five, six, and ten banks of oars were built;—that Alexander increased the number of banks to twelve;—that Philip, father of Perseus, had a galley of sixteen banks; and—that vessels of four and five banks were frequently engaged in war. The triremes, however, were much more numerous than any other class of galleys except those which had only one bank of oars. Themistocles built three hundred triremes for the purpose of carrying on the war against Ægina; and he obtained a decree authorizing the construction of a further, but limited number of these vessels from the

[1] Thucydides (Bloomfield), vol. i. book 1, c. xii. p. 37.

produce of certain mines. After his time, twenty triremes were annually built by the Athenians, so as to maintain in efficient order a permanent fleet of from three to four hundred vessels of this description. Triremes consisted of two classes, fighting ships and transports. The former were propelled at great speed frequently reaching seven to eight miles an hour; the average number of rowers employed on each, varying from fifty to two hundred. The transports were bulkier and stronger vessels, and, though armed, were not brought into action except in cases of urgent necessity.

No mention is made of any vessel with more than three banks of oars having been employed in the Peloponnesian War, but quadriremes and quinqueremes were known, in the reign of Dionysius I., of Syracuse, and were employed by the Carthaginians, in the first Punic War, who had also in their service some vessels of the hexireme and septireme class. From the ease, however, with which the Romans captured these large vessels (even allowing for their superior energy and vigorous mode of close action), they were evidently much less efficient in proportion to their size than triremes. Nevertheless, according to the testimony of Plutarch, very large galleys were in high favour with Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom he represents as a prince possessing superior knowledge of the arts, and of a highly inventive turn of mind. That prince, he states caused several of fifteen and sixteen banks to be built, he himself superintending their construction; and so formidable are these vessels said to have appeared, that Lysimachus, when he had ocular confirmation of reports he had heard of their strength and capacity, raised the siege of Rhodes rather than encounter them

B.C. 431 to 404.

B.C. 400.

B.C. 255.

in action. Plutarch also states that Anthony possessed a fleet of no less than five hundred armed vessels, magnificently adorned, having eight and ten banks of oars, and that he selected the best and largest of them for the celebrated battle of Actium. However exaggerated some of the accounts preserved of these very large galleys may be, and however imperfect and inconsistent the descriptions of them by ancient authors, their existence has been established beyond all doubt.

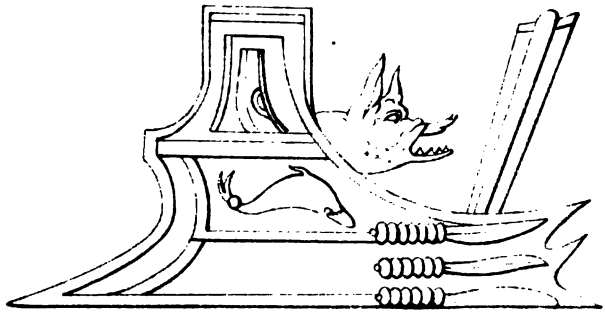
Their outfit.

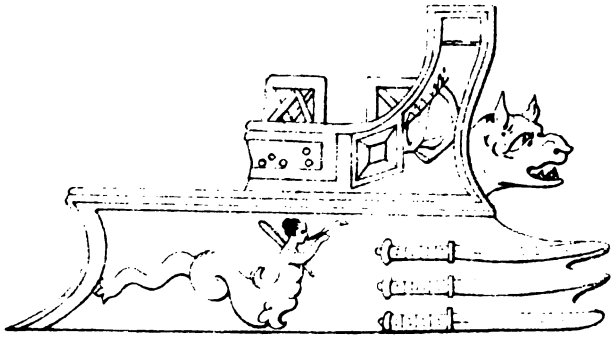
With reference to their outfit, it is sufficient to state that, in nearly every instance, they were highly ornamented with figures carved on the bow and stern. Below the bow, and between it and the fore foot or keel, there was generally a projecting piece of very strong timber, to which was attached either a ram's head, sharp metal bolts, cleavers, or some other instrument of destruction. These beaks were at first constructed so as to be visible above the water, but afterwards they were immersed, like the beaks of the iron-clad rams of our own time, themselves evidently copies from original Grecian and Roman designs. The most trustworthy illustrations of these have been taken from the Trajan column and a few coins of the period, of which the drawing on the opposite page (Fig. 2) exhibits a fair representation. Nearly the whole of the ancient war galleys had their bows and sterns considerably elevated above the level of the deck. From the former, or the "*coursier*"—centre platform—an officer regulated the duties of the rowers; whilst the pilot directed, from the quarter-deck, the course of the ship. In many cases, this officer sat under a highly ornamented canopy, from which he issued his commands, and, behind it, there

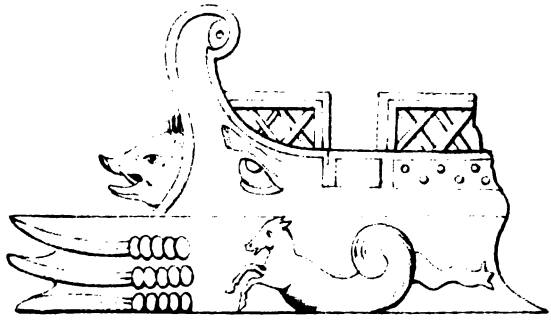
Beaks and rostrums.

Stern.

Fig 2







was usually carved the image of the tutelar deity of the galley. From the flag-staff floated her ensign or private signal; and, sometimes, a large vane on the taffrail pointed out the direction of the wind. In the column of Trajan a lantern is shown suspended close to the stern in one of the galleys. Each trireme carried two wooden ladders and three "spreads," poles of different lengths. Although the oars were the chief means of propulsion, almost every vessel above a trireme had either one or two masts, but one of them, from raking forward, and being comparatively small, resembled in many respects a bowsprit, so that, practically, there was only one mast, except in very large vessels, which, with the yard and square sail attached, usually completed their rig. The portion of the mast immediately above the yard formed a "top," or structure similar to a basin, serving for the purpose of a look-out or a place from which arrows or other missiles could be discharged. All the Athenian galleys had square sails only, as may be seen in numerous illustrations; and it is very questionable if any of the Greek vessels used topsails of a triangular form, Δ, though they were known to the Romans; but, from their form, the wide part being attached to the yard and the point reaching the topmast head, they could, under any circumstances, have been of very little service, and none whatever when the wind was abeam or before the beam.

Masts and Sails.

The oars varied in size according to the bank on which they were used, of course increasing in length as they ascended. Their length in a trireme is stated at from 9 to $9\frac{1}{4}$ cubits, but no mention is made of the part of the vessel to which they belonged. An

Oars.

oar, however, of only 14 feet in length could have been of no service, unless used on the lowest rank and almost on a level with the water. Those employed in the smallest wherries of the Thames are from 12 to 14 feet long. Thucydides,[2] in describing the attack of the Peloponnesian commanders on the Piræus, the harbour of Athens, remarks, "The plan was that each sailor should take with him his oar, his cushion and his thong, and go by land from Corinth to the sea over against Athens, and proceeding with all speed to Megara, should put off with forty triremes which happened to lie at Nisæa, their naval station, and sail immediately for Piræus." From these remarks it may be inferred that none of the oars belonging to a trireme were of greater weight than one man could carry for a distance of four or five miles; and that only one man was stationed at an oar, unless "his oar" might be construed as meaning the oar under his charge. But though no mention is made of different-sized oars having been used on board of a trireme, there can be no doubt that the oars of the ancients differed far more in size than those of the river barge or man-of-war sweeps, as compared with the sculls of the Thames wherry of modern times.

This is clear from the fact that while various ancient writers mention oars of $9\frac{1}{2}$ cubits in length, Athenæus distinctly states that the oars belonging to Ptolemy Philopater's large ship were 38 cubits long.[3] Here we have a specific account of oars varying from 14 to 57 feet in length, the latter requiring to have

[2] Vol. i. book 2, c. xciii. p. 512 (Bloomfield).

[3] Athenæus, book 5, c. xxxvii.

lead embedded in their handles as a counterpoise to the weight outside the rowlock.[4] Besides it is clear that the oars must have increased in size according to the banks on which they were employed. In the case of the oar 57 feet in length, if worked from a great height a very large portion of it would require to be inboard—say 19 feet against 38, and even the one-third would not, at a line of 9 feet above the water, be sufficient as a counterpoise, unless the shoulder of the oar were of unwieldy thickness or heavily weighted by lead. In all single-banked vessels the oar worked on the gunwale, and was kept in its place by means of a leather thong. In larger galleys it passed through an oar-port. Various ancient writers assert that there was only one man to each oar, and add that he sat, when rowing, on a single bench or small stool attached to the ribs of the vessel, and within a very short distance from the *scalmus* of his oar. It would, however, be altogether impossible, under any circumstances, for one man to handle an oar fifty-seven feet long; and no man *seated* within a couple of feet of the side could work even a fourteen-foot oar to advantage, or indeed at all.

Mode of rowing.

But these assertions, though they increase the difficulty of solving the intricate problem of how galleys, with more than one bank of oars, were propelled, can have no weight when opposed to practical experience. It is clear, without any testimony beyond our knowledge of the physical power of man, that no one man, however herculean, unless he had the aid of machinery, of which there is no proof,

[4] Athenæus, book 5, c. xxxvii.

could work an oar in the manner described. Therefore, without searching for proofs in support of these views, we may dispose of this part of the subject by remarking that in ancient galleys of every description, above the smallest uniremes, more men than one *were* frequently employed upon the same oar. Such was the case in the celebrated Liburnian galleys, already described. Indeed, Pliny distinctly states that the galley of Caius had forty oars on each side, and five rowers to each oar. And from the writings of Suetonius it appears that the galley built for Caligula had no less than eighty oars on each side, with "ten men to an oar,"—in all, sixteen hundred rowers.

Here the question arises how many men could, with convenience, sit on each bench? Presuming that, in the case of an oar fifty-seven feet in length, one-third, or nineteen feet, should be within board, there would, allowing fifteen inches for each rower, be space for fifteen men to work at the one oar; and if the men who sat within six feet of the row-port were of no service, there is still ample space left to place ten effective rowers. Although various interpretations may be put on the poetical language of Homer, and it is not easy to understand what is meant by some of his references to the mode of propelling galleys in his day, nevertheless, five men would appear then to have been frequently stationed at one oar, seated on benches seven feet in length, and, in all such cases, the handle of the oar, for the effective working of the galley, required to be twelve feet in-board from the row-port.

In comparatively modern times, when rowers were

by no means crowded, eighteen inches for each was considered more than sufficient, and there can be no doubt whatever that five men to an oar was far from an unfrequent practice in manning the state galleys of the Italian Republics. But while there is no difficulty in understanding how five or even ten men could be rendered serviceable in working the oars of single-banked galleys, a great difficulty arises when we inquire how that number of men did effectually handle the upper bank oars of the quadriremes and quinqueremes. On these and on many other matters, the accounts of the ancients are conflicting: nor do the imperfect illustrations on ancient monuments and on coins materially assist in the elucidation of some of these intricate questions. Assured of the fact that there were many vessels of much larger dimensions than even quinqueremes propelled by oars, we have to consider *how this was done.* Now the only mode of arriving at correct conclusions on this, the most conflicting and intricate of all the problems connected with shipping, which ancient authors have left for solution, is to trace the progress of the galleys themselves, from the single-banked galley or unireme upwards.

Single-banked Galleys.

With the exception of the extraordinary Liburnian galleys, of which a drawing has already been furnished, every account extant leads to the conviction that the single-banked galleys of the Venetians and Genoese resembled in some respects the galleys of the Romans and ancient Greeks. Drawings of these Venetian galleys, to which references will hereafter be made, have been preserved, but, as no detailed account of them exists, we are obliged to seek

for information from a writer of comparative modern date.[5]

French Galley.

In its leading features, the French galley, constructed somewhere about the close of the seventeenth century, would appear to have resembled those of Venice and of Rome of a similar class. She is described as having been one hundred and fifty feet long and *fifty feet broad;* but there is evidently a mistake in the description of her width, as there is no record of any war galley, either ancient or modern, where the length was only three times the breadth of beam. They were invariably from five to ten times longer than they were wide. All writers on the ships of the ancients or of the middle ages are agreed upon this point; nor is there any account of a vessel propelled by oars of our own time, which was not at least six times longer than she was wide; therefore, it may be safe to assume that the French galley of one hundred and fifty feet in length, did not much exceed thirty feet in width. In other respects, with the exception of the length of oars, the description of this single-banked galley is evidently quite reliable.

The author says, that she "consists but of one deck, which covers the hold; this hold is in the middle nine feet, but at the sides of the galley only six feet high. By this we may see that the deck

[5] In the 'Monthly Magazine,' vol. xviii., London, 1758, p. 445, there is a review of a work, entitled the memoirs of a Protestant condemned to the galleys of France, written by himself, which contains, in minute detail, a description of a French galley in which, in the year 1701, he was condemned to labour. The account was originally published at the Hague, and was afterwards translated into English, 2 vols. 12mo.

rises about a foot in the middle, and slopes towards the edges to let the water more easily run off; for when a galley is loaded, it seems to swim under water, at least the sea constantly washes the deck. The sea would then necessarily enter the hold by the apertures where the masts are placed, were it not prevented by what is called the coursier. This is a long case of boards fixed on the middle or highest part of the deck, and running from one end of the galley to the other. There is also an hatchway into the hold, as high as the '*coursier.*' From this superficial description, perhaps, it may be imagined that the slaves and the rest of the crew have their feet always in the water; but the case is otherwise, to each bench there is a board raised a foot from the deck, which serves as a footstool to the rowers, under which the water passes. For the soldiers and marines, there is, running on each side along the gunwale of the vessel, what is called a *bande*, which is a bench about the same height with the *coursier* and two feet broad. They never lie here, but each leans on his own particular bundle of clothes in a very incommodious posture. The officers themselves are not better accommodated, for the chambers in the hold are designed only to hold the provisions and naval stores of the galley."

The author then proceeds to state that the French galley had a chamber in the poop or raised deck, only large enough to hold the captain's bed; that, contiguous to it, were compartments for the more valuable stores; and, after remarking on various details, he adds, that she had twenty-five benches for the rowers on each side of the vessel. These fifty

benches, which were four feet apart, and ten feet long, are described as having been "covered with sackcloth, stuffed with flocks, and over this is thrown a cow-hide, which, reaching down to the *banquet* or footstool, gives them the resemblance of large trunks. To these the slaves are chained, six to a bench; along the *bande* runs a large rim of timber, about a foot thick, which forms the gunwale of the galley. On this, which is called the apostic, the oars are worked. These *are fifty feet long*, and are poised in equilibrio upon the afore-mentioned piece of timber, so that the thirteen feet of oar which come inboard are equal in weight to the thirty-seven feet outboard; and as it would be impossible to hold them in the hand, because of their thickness, they have handles by which they are managed by the slaves."

If the oars of this vessel, which in their leading features no doubt resemble those of the large single-banked galleys of the ancients and of the middle ages, were fifty feet in length, then a beam of thirty feet would not suffice for oars of that enormous length. But if the beam was only one-sixth of her length, we may assume that the oars were not more than thirty-nine feet long, especially as that length would be amply sufficient for propelling a single-banked vessel. In that case the oar would be thirteen feet inboard as described, affording abundance of space for six slaves to be stationed at it, although the two nearest the side would be of comparatively less service in rowing. To enable the rowers, and especially those who were stationed nearest the centre of the galley, to work with effect, their benches must have been placed in a slightly oblique position.

From this description, there is no difficulty in understanding the character of the uniremes; it is only when we come to inquire what was meant by biremes, triremes, and so forth, and how they were propelled, that the most conflicting statements are met with. Although Scheffer, General Melvill, and others, have bestowed an immense deal of learning in their endeavours to prove that each oar was rowed by one man only, and that the banks were placed directly one over the other, the bulk of the testimony of ancient writers, confirmed by experience, is opposed to any such views. Nor does the order of the Emperor Leo, which they quote, that "every ship of war must be of its due length, having two banks of oars, the *one higher* the other *lower*," favour their opinion. Indeed, "one higher the other lower" is more likely to refer to oar-ports placed in an oblique rather than a vertical line.

But, apart altogether from these conjectures, the most casual inquiry will show, that it would be impracticable to row any galley with more than two banks of oars on the plan suggested. For instance, if only two feet be allowed for the space between the lowest port and the water, and not more than five feet intervenes between it and the *scalmi* of the second bank of oars, the rowers on that bank would be seven feet above the water line. Admitting that a bireme could be conveniently rowed by oars of sufficient length at this height, it would be impossible to do so at twelve feet above the water line, where the third bank of rowers would be seated. But a space of five feet between the lower banks, making no allowance for the thickness of the deck

and beams, would fall far short of what would be required for the men who worked the upper banks, the angle of their oars increasing with the ascent, and consequently requiring much greater height between decks for their motion. Every additional rank adds to the difficulty in a greatly increased ratio; and, if hexiremes were efficient ships, which, on the authority of Polybius they were,[6] it would have been altogether impracticable to propel them by oars on the plan suggested.

General Melvill's theory.

It might be unnecessary to offer any further remarks upon the impracticability of this theory, had not Mr. Mitford, the celebrated historian of Greece, expressed so strong an opinion in favour of it. "The most satisfactory conjectures," he remarks, "that I have met with by far, are those of General Melvill."[7] It may, however, be here explained that General Melvill, in common with other writers on the subject, had previously entertained the opinion that the number of banks were measured by the number of men at an oar. That is to say, a unireme, he considered, had only one man placed at an oar, a bireme two, a trireme three, and so forth, up to the great ship of Ptolemy Philopater, which had, according to this theory, forty men to each of its fifty-seven feet oars. As the General on examination found such a theory to be untenable, he conceived the idea that in no case was there more than one man to an oar. "He," then,[8] "set himself to investigate the subject for confirmation of this opinion on fact, as he should find

[6] Book 1, cap. xxiii. [7] 'History of Greece,' vol. ii. p. 194.

[8] Pownall's 'Treatise on the Study of Antiquities,' Appendix, no. iii. pp. 236-240.

that fact to turn out in the descriptions of sea-fights and other naval transactions, as given by the ancient authors, particularly Polybius, Cæsar, Livy and Florus." Impressed with his new idea, it occurred to him, that "the indispensable requisites were, that in the arrangement of the rowers within, each side ought to have been such as to admit of the greatest number possible, that they should be so placed as not to impede each other; that they should be enabled to row to the best advantage; and that the highest tiers, both in respect to length and weight, should be sufficiently manageable: from these grounds the discovery immediately resulted to him, which was, that by a combination of two obliquities between the galley and a rowers' gallery running along its waist part, projecting outwards from a small distance above the water's edge, with an angle of 45°, and rows of horizontal seats of about two feet in length, fixed obliquely upwards from the bottom of this gallery, against this obliquely projecting part of the side, with no more space betwixt them in all directions than should be found necessary for the free movement of men when rowing together, a quincunx or chequer order would be formed, with all the above-mentioned requisites, to the highest degree of advantage which could co-exist consistent with each other."

It is not easy to understand the General's scheme by this description of it. He lays down, practically enough, some essential points, which require to be considered; but while the oar adapted for the lowest banks might be "sufficiently manageable," the oars of the upper banks, even if well balanced, could not

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be effectively worked by one man. Nor is it easy to understand, what is meant by "rows of horizontal seats, of about two feet in length, fixed obliquely upwards from the bottom of this galley;" however, the General caused a model of a quinquereme to be erected against a high wall belonging to his house in London, which was of the same proportions as would have been required for a "fifth part of a real galley." The model is said to "have held, in a very small space, but with sufficient ease, the rowers of five tiers, of six men in each, lengthways, making one-fifth the rowers on each side of a quinquereme, according to Polybius, who mentions three hundred as the whole number of rowers in it, besides one hundred and twenty fighting men." But this further explanation does not assist in the elucidation of his theory of "one man to each oar." On the contrary, it rather tends to confuse, unless the General means that there were one hundred and fifty row-ports on each side of the quinquereme mentioned by Polybius, which would be absurd.

But the practicability of the whole plan is shown when an examination is made of the space that would be required to place, single file, three hundred rowers at the oars of a quinquereme.

The sweep of an oar is measured by its length, and would require a certain defined space for its movement, irrespective of the number of men at work upon it. The single-banked French galley already described, was one hundred and fifty feet long, having twenty-five benches on each side, requiring a length of one hundred feet. All other accounts, as well as experience, show that the benches were, and

required to be, three feet apart; and, allowing one foot for the breadth of the bench, each oar would require a space of four feet in a horizontal line. According to the General's theory, there would be thirty oar-ports on each bank, which, allowing for their obliquity, would require the gallery attached to the side of his galley to be somewhere about two hundred feet in length for the accommodation of the rowers. No doubt such a vessel could be built, but it is very questionable if any such vessel *ever was built*. Ptolemy Philopater's ship would have required to have had two thousand oar-ports on each side, to afford employment to her rowers. There is, however, an equally valid objection to the General's scheme: a bank of oars means something whereby one class of galleys could be clearly distinguished from another class. Ships of war, up to a comparatively recent period, were rated as mounting so many guns, just as ancient galleys were rated by their banks of oars; the one measured the fighting, the other the propelling power. But if, according to the General's plan, triremes or quinqueremes were known by the number of banks, what was the measure of vessels of a larger size? for he does not profess to work any galley on his plan with more than five tiers; nor can he maintain that the size of his galley was measured by the number of her oars, which would depend upon her length. In whatever way this scheme is examined, it will be found to be untenable.

Charnock, in his 'History of Marine Architecture,'[9] has devoted evidently more space than thought Charnock' theory.

[9] Vol. i. p. 47.

to the elucidation of this intricate subject. He says, "After reading the various treatises written with a view of elucidating this subject,—after viewing the different designs collected with much care from the Roman antiquities for the same purpose, though they afford us in themselves nothing decidedly satisfactory,—we may boast of having, in some measure, developed from them, if not the absolute truth, at least a reasonable system of explanation." "This," he continues, "has been a matter of no small difficulty; these learned dissertations and investigations, compiled chiefly from the labours and evidence of ancient sculptors, who attended neither to exactness nor proportions, are extremely contradictory, and it is very evident that, for the most part, they convey to us a very false idea of the galleys of ancient times." Charnock, however, does not seem to have solved the difficulty. While he, with all other writers on the subject, accurately describes "uniremes" as "those galleys or vessels which had only one row of oars extending between their masts, or perhaps the entire length of the vessel," he breaks down at the first step beyond a unireme, when he says that "the biremes had one tier of oars between their masts, and another abaft the main or principal mast." Indeed, all theories must necessarily fail, which cannot be made applicable to vessels of every description; and it is no solution of the difficulty to deny, as Mr. Charnock and others have done, the existence of vessels beyond a certain size, when it is found that a theory practicable within certain limits, would be altogether impracticable if carried beyond them.

That this would be the case in Mr. Charnock's plan he himself admits. He says that a trireme was a galley more formidable than the bireme, "having one tier of oars extending between the masts, a second abaft the mainmast, and a third forward, near the prow or stem before the foremast." The quadriremes, he describes as having had "their oars ranged like the triremes, with the difference of having two tiers of oars, one above the other, abaft the mainmast." "The quinqueremes," he adds, "were also of the same description, with the addition of the second tier of oars forward." He then goes on to state that "the octoremes had two tiers of oars in the midships, and *three* at the stem and stern, making in all eight." This is no doubt an easy method of solving the difficulty, so far as regards biremes, triremes, quadriremes and octoremes, but our author fails to explain how his principle can be applied to vessels of a larger description, or even how the number of rowers each of these classes are said to have contained, was placed at the oars. The latter he does not attempt, and as summarily dismisses the former by questioning the existence altogether of any vessels with more than three tiers of oars placed either directly or obliquely above each other. He does so on the ground "that while from the evidence of a multitude of ancient sculptures," the fact is established of the existence of vessels with three tiers, "there is no certain proof of any having been constructed with a greater number;" adding that even vessels of the octoreme class "were enormous floating structures, built merely for the purposes of luxury and to gratify a ridiculous

ostentation, so unfit for war, or even navigation, that they could not venture to sea without manifest danger."

Although Mr. Charnock is of opinion that "the foregoing explanation appears perfectly simple and conformable to reason, and enlarges our idea of the marine or naval force of the ancients," it certainly will not satisfy strict criticism. There is no reason to suppose that vessels of the octoreme class were very numerous at any period of history, but that these and others still larger, were constructed for purposes other than the gratification of "a ridiculous ostentation" there is ample evidence. However, the theory which Mr. Charnock considers unanswerable, would not be the most perfect in practice, even in vessels of an inferior class to the octoreme. The oars would be more effective in midships than at any other part of the vessel, yet our author places the greatest number of these aft and forward, *near* "the prow or stem, near the stern." If there is any merit in his scheme, it would consist in placing the *three* banks in midships, and one aft in the case of a quadrireme; one aft and one forward in the case of a quinquereme; and two instead of three near the "stem and stern."

Vossius, his views.

The whole of the question of rowing ancient galleys has been exceedingly well put by Vossius, in his 'Dissertation on the Ancient Marine.'[10] Speaking of the largest of all these ships, of which any record remains, he says, "If we compare the oars that must necessarily have been used on board of

[10] Extracts from Charnock's 'History of Marine Architecture,' vol. i. p. 52.

this (Ptolemy's) ship, with those by which the modern galley is worked and allow for their different proportions in respect to length, we must also keep in view a similar comparison in regard to their size and thickness, and we shall then have a correct idea of their relative dimensions, as well as their strength." He then goes on to remark, "Let us now consider in what manner the four thousand rowers which are said to have been employed on board this vessel, were employed or stationed at the forty banks of oars. It is not my intention," he continues, "to combat or examine what many learned men have already written on this subject, both in France and in other countries. Their opinion is certainly correct in respect to the tiers of oars being placed obliquely over each other. Existing remnants of antiquity convince us clearly of the fact; but there still remains a much heavier difficulty to be got over: it is, in what manner the oars of the upper tier could be worked and managed by one person only, for it is denied that more than one was stationed to each oar, and the perplexity of the enigma is not a little increased, by the assertion that a very small part of the oar reached within board. It is well known that there are no weights whatever which, by the proper assistance and combination of mechanical power, may not be moved even by a single person; but we are at the same time certain, that the greater the weights are, so much the slower can they be moved. Oars, it must be remembered, become almost useless, unless they are impelled with quickness and spirit, as well as brought back to their original station, for a renewal of the stroke with

equal celerity. The mechanical powers are of no use in this instance, as the law remains fixed and immutable, that any operation, which, in the ordinary course of things, requires ten men to perform it, and one only is employed, may indeed be executed by that one, but will require a period ten times as long to perform it in; for nature will not suffer herself to be deceived, or her laws perverted by any such vainly-hoped-for advantage."

While Vossius was of opinion that no vessel had ever more than seven tiers of oars,—though he does not show how that number could have been worked, —he, for the reasons just quoted, arrived at the conclusion "that in the lower tier one man only was stationed to an oar, which being short, and but trivially elevated above the surface of the water, he might be able to work without much difficulty." He then explains that, in his opinion, as to which there can be no question, "the oars in all superior tiers, as they increased in height from the water, increased also in length, within board as well as without, leaving room for a greater number of rowers to work, each in progressive proportion to their length;" but he draws a false conclusion from right premises when he remarks that the difficulty consists "not in so many tiers, but in the number of seats for rowers comprised in one oblique tier."

Such are the views of a few of the leading writers on this intricate question. While agreeing with Vossius in the opinion that the oar-ports were placed obliquely in the sides of the vessel, and that the number of men to an oar was regulated by its length and position, there are numerous objections to his theory

that the galleys of the ancients were classed, either by the number of men or by the number of their seats; and any seaman who takes the trouble to put the theory into practice will find that even the principle of obliquity will not admit of the effective working of more than five tiers of oars.

Each theory, however, contains less or more truth; and by a careful examination of the whole, the problem which has occupied the attention of so many writers may be successfully solved, if a little common sense be substituted for opinions expressed evidently for the purpose of harmonizing with statements made by ancient authors, who did not practically understand the subject, or whose writings have been misquoted or imperfectly interpreted. All writers agree in the opinion that the uniremes had only one bank or tier of oars, and there is no difference of opinion in regard to the mode of propelling these vessels. Although "seated," [and this expression has led to much controversy], the rowers, in the case of large vessels, doubtless, rose simultaneously to their oars at the word of command, stretching out the handles as far as the allotted space would permit, and then throwing themselves back uniformly upon their seats, and, with their whole weight, propelling the galley forwards. This mode of rowing may be seen in the Mediterranean and elsewhere at the present day.

Writers differ in regard to the number of men placed at an oar; but, herein, there is, practically also, no difference of opinion, for the number of men at an oar would depend on the size of the vessel. A jolly-boat has never more than one man at an oar, but a launch has two, and, in the phraseology of our

own time, launches thus rowed are called "double-banked," although this does not seem to have any connection with the vessels of two tiers of ancient times. Nor is there much difference of opinion in regard to what was meant by a bireme. It has been said, it is true, that a bireme derived her name from her oars being double-banked, but this theory may be dismissed, as it would not apply in practice in the case of very large vessels. Apart, therefore, from direct testimony there seems little doubt that a bireme meant a vessel, not with two rowers to an oar, but with two banks or tiers of oars. Some writers, as already explained, have maintained that the oar-ports were placed directly one above the other. No doubt biremes could have been propelled by oars working in the manner thus suggested; but those persons who have carefully examined the Trajan column, as well as other remnants of ancient sculpture, assert that these afford positive proofs of the oars having been placed *obliquely* over each other; and, on the coins of the reign of the Emperor Gordian, two tiers of oars placed in this fashion are very conspicuous. If, however, any doubts still exist on this point, they are entirely set at rest by the recent discoveries of Layard and others.

The frontispiece is a copy of an alabaster slab found at Kouyunjik—the probable site of ancient Nineveh. Nothing can be more distinct. It clearly shows that in ancient times the oar-ports were arranged obliquely on the broad side of the galley. The next question for consideration is, not merely to what extent this principle could be applied, so as to

place at work the vast number of rowers which some galleys are said to have carried, but also to afford accommodation for the troops and stores embarked on board of them.

Mr. Howell's plan.

Mr. Howell, a comparatively modern writer,[11] adopts many of the views of Vossius, differing from him, however, in the number of banks, and maintaining that it would be impossible to work with effect more than five. As his views are much more in accordance with our own than those of any other writer, we shall refer to them at greater length, although differing also from him in some of his most important conclusions. Here, however, it may be remarked, that every modern writer, Mr. Howell included, appears to have given too little consideration to the facts, that ancient galleys varied quite as much in size as the vessels of modern times, that their power or dimensions were not, in all cases, measured by the number of their banks of oars, and that in proportion to the number of rowers the capacity of the hold would require to be increased. A war-galley would be comparatively useless if she had not ample capacity for fighting men, their munitions of every kind, besides stores, including water. All these points must, however, have been fully considered by the ancients, and they would see that when they wished to have more than thirty oars on each side of a galley, they could not increase the number on the single-bank principle without constructing her of an unwieldy length, in proportion to her depth and breadth, and sacrificing an unnecessary large amount

[11] 'An Essay (pamphlet) on the War Galleys of the Ancients.' By John Howell. Published by W. Blackwood: Edinburgh, 1826.

of space. Consequently, they invented the bireme, whereby they could, in very little more than the length required for fifteen oars, place double that number without any corresponding sacrifice of space. Applying this principle to the trireme, they would in the same length obtain space for three times the number of oars, and secure for the use of the soldiers and stores any extra length they might think proper to add to their galleys.

Mr. Howell, in discussing the principle as applicable to quinqueremes, shows that by adopting the oblique ascent, the rowers of the first and highest bank are placed so as not to interfere with the rowers, forming the second bench, their oars having space to play free of the benches before them. "That a bank or bench of oars," he adds, "never contained more than five oars, I think, can be proved, whatever the size of the galley was, whether a bireme or trireme, up to the galley of Philopater, which had forty banks, nine feet being the highest point from the water for the *scalmi*, from which they could pull with effect."[12]

Mr. Howell, in confirmation, as he conceives, of this opinion, quotes Athenæus (book v. chap. 37); but, though we cannot find anything in this ancient writer's description of the great ship, to lead to the conclusion that the *scalmi* of her highest bank of oars were not more than nine feet above the level of the water, we agree with Mr. Howell in the opinion that an oar could not be worked effectively at a greater height, and that the seats of the rowers were arranged by the system of obliquity, so as not to interfere with each other. We, however, differ from him in other

[12] Howell, Pamphlet, p. 48.

respects. "A Greek trireme," he remarks, "at the time of the invasion of Xerxes, had from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty rowers and forty armed foot, while the average-sized Persian triremes carried two hundred rowers and thirty soldiers." Presuming these to be established facts, Mr. Howell endeavours to make his theory harmonize with them. "I have shown," he says, referring to the French vessel, of which we have furnished particulars, "that a modern galley pulling fifty oars has six rowers on a bench. If I am correct," he continues, "a trireme pulled thirty oars, that is, three banks, five oars in each, thus:—

"Now, to a vessel of her bulk, with elevated poop and stern," he goes on to state, "less than five men cannot be allowed to each seat. Thus there are twenty-five rowers in each bank, and six times twenty-five make one hundred and fifty." But though this mode of calculation—which, by the way, does not allow for any "watch-and-watch" or reliefs[13]—makes

[13] Although Homer—Book 13th—states that Ulysses was rowed from Corcyra (Corfu) to Ithaca, a distance of eighty nautical miles, in ten hours, there is nothing to show that ancient galleys were propelled *continuously* by their oars, or for a longer period on a stretch than the one set of rowers could endure. To this day the Malay pirates sometimes row more than ten hours without change, and are fed at their oars. Nor is there anything to show that the ancient galleys carried two, much less three gangs of rowers, although they no doubt had spare men for reliefs, in case of accident. But this question, though interesting, does not affect the solution of the problem now under consideration.

the Grecian galley agree with his scheme of manning her, so far as regards the number of rowers, it is based upon the presumption that the same number of men were placed on each of the oars. This is evidently a fallacy. While five men might be placed to advantage on each of the upper tier of oars, two of them, at least, would be useless on the lower tier in a vessel of this size, even if they could find space to work at it. The same fallacy runs throughout the whole of his argument when he endeavours to bring his views in these matters into harmony with the imperfect and frequently conflicting descriptions of ancient authors. Thus he accounts for the Persian trireme with her two hundred men, by saying that she "must have had six men to an oar, which is not improbable, the Asiatics being not so athletic as the Greeks. Six times thirty," he adds, "is one hundred and eighty, leaving twenty men for casualties, etc. etc."

This is an exceedingly easy mode of attempting to solve an intricate question; but Mr. Howell, instead of overcoming the difficulty, only increases it when he says that there must have been six men to an oar, for six men would be less easily placed at each of the lower tiers of oars than five. Nor does he aid in the solution of this vexed problem when he comes to deal with vessels of five banks. Practically his arguments are the same, but it will be interesting and instructive to quote them, as showing the mistakes which learned men are liable to make when dealing with questions which can only be solved by combining learning with experience, and how complacently they arrive at the conclusion that they must

be right and everybody else wrong when their figures are made to correspond with certain figures quoted by ancient authors. "Polybius," remarks Mr. Howell, "informs us the crew of a quinquereme was three hundred rowers and one hundred and twenty fighting men. Now a quinquereme," he reasons, "having five banks, thus,—pulled fifty oars, or twenty-five

aside, the same number as the modern galley. As by this arrangement, adding to the banks of the galley," he continues, "did not add to her height, and not in any great degree to her length, seven feet being sufficient for a bank, I think the addition of one man to an oar was all she could require. Six times five is thirty, and ten times thirty, three hundred. Both of these," he concludes, with evident self-satisfaction, "are remarkable coincidences, and tally better with the description of ancient authors than any solution that has yet been given."

"I shall now," he continues, "show how remarkably it agrees with Athenæus; thus taking in the whole range and applying to all, a thing it could never do were it not near the truth. The tesseraconteres having," he adds, "forty banks, five oars to a bench, makes her have two hundred oars of a side, or four hundred in all. Considering her size, she could not have less than ten men to an oar." The Liburnia of Caligula, according to the testimony

of Suetonius, had, he states, that number of men to an oar, forgetting, that she was a single-banked galley, and consequently he comes to the conclusion that that number was attached to each of the four hundred oars in Philopater's ship, which "gives four thousand, the number mentioned by Athenæus." Here again he overlooks the greatly increased difficulty or impracticability of placing ten men at each of the lower tier of oars.

Our own views.

Now, while there can be no doubt that all vessels had their ports placed obliquely in cases where there were more than one tier of oars; that there were vessels of five tiers of oars thus placed and no more, and that the Grecian trireme had one hundred and fifty rowers, and the Persian two hundred, it is clear from the descriptions of ancient authors that there were many triremes of much smaller dimensions, especially from the facility with which they were hauled upon the beach: while there were, no doubt, others carrying even more men than the galleys he refers to.[14] But presuming Mr. Howell to be correct in his supposition, that a trireme derived her name from having three rows of five tiers and no more, as he illustrates, then a bireme would derive her name because she had only two rows of five tiers, thus:—

[14] Thucydides (Bloomfield), vol. i. cap. xciv. p. 514, etc., etc.; and vol. i. pp. 30 and 32.

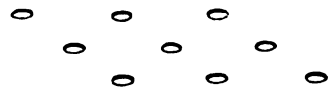
No practical man, however, could entertain the idea that ten oars arranged as he suggests would be equally efficient to a similar number in single lines or even in double tiers; nor would a galley of this size be nearly so efficient as she would be with her ports in a horizontal line, for she would be much too high in proportion to her length. Similar remarks apply with nearly equal force in the case of triremes. Biremes.

The perusal of ancient authors, as well as experience, leads to the conviction, that galleys from the unireme to the quinquereme inclusive had their oars arranged not merely in oblique vertical rows, but also in horizontal rows, according to circumstances. Besides, the plan illustrated on the Nineveh marble is much more practicable than the one suggested by the theory of Mr. Howell. A galley with only ten oars on a side would be more efficient if they were placed as follows:— Triremes.

than if arranged in the manner suggested by Mr. Howell. Nor would they occupy more space, the saving of which, no doubt, induced the ancients to increase the number of tiers. It is only, however, when three banks and upwards are applied, that there is any very material saving of space. Thirty oars, for instance, placed obliquely in three rows in midships, would occupy much less space, and would consequently give greater accommodation for troops or stores, than would be the case if the same number of oars were placed in a single horizontal row.

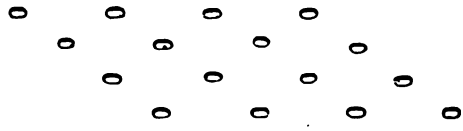
As the galleys of the ancients must have varied

very much in their capacity and dimensions, it would be more reasonable to suppose that, from the unireme to the quinquereme inclusive, they derived their names from the number of oars placed horizontally over each other, rather than from the number of oblique rows as suggested by Mr. Howell. That is to say, though a trireme bore that name because she had three tiers of oars placed thus,



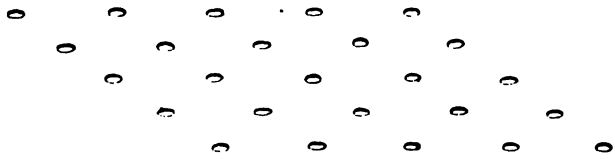
she was, nevertheless, still a trireme, though she had four, five, ten or twenty oblique rows of oar-ports, only she would be a trireme of a larger size, just as we have or had frigates—single-decked vessels, which have varied in size from 600 to 6000 tons. A trireme might therefore be a much more powerful vessel than a quadrireme or quinquereme. On a similar principle, a quadrireme would have four horizontal tiers of oars, as follows:—

Quadrireme.



but, as in the case of the trireme, she would still be a quadrireme, only of a larger size, if she had more than four oblique rows. There is, however, a limit beyond which oars could not be worked when placed over each other in any fashion. That limit would be reached at the fifth horizontal row, and for the reasons already named, a sixth row, however obliquely placed—for obliquity has also its limits—would be useless. Therefore, while a quinquereme

had five horizontal rows, and the same number of oblique rows forming a *quincunx* thus:—



Quinquereme.

the galley, it would appear, acquired another name when she had *more than five of these oblique rows.* For instance, vessels with six oblique rows were, in our opinion, called hexiremes; with seven rows, septiremes; with eight rows, octoremes, and so forth; up to Ptolemy Philopater's tesseraconteres. That the number of men placed on board the ships of the ancients was regulated as at present by the work they had to perform, and by the size of the ship, there can be no doubt; but the number of men had nothing in itself to do with the class or grade of the galley. In some triremes there may have been frequently not more than fifty rowers, and in others five hundred. Our theory does not require the number of men to harmonize with the number recorded by Polybius, Athenæus, and other authors, to have been employed in the different rated galleys of the ancients. In the trireme, which is described as having thirty oars and one hundred and fifty rowers, it would not be necessary to place five men at each oar, as Mr. Howell has done, to make his theory harmonize with this account. Six men to each of the oars of the highest bank, five to each oar of the second, and four men to each oar of the third bank, would give the requisite number of one hundred and fifty

Hexiremes and larger galleys.

Suggested plan of placing the rowers.

rowers, who would be far more effective than if placed in the manner he describes. In the case of the quinquereme, which, according to Polybius, had three hundred rowers, instead of placing six men, presuming there were no reliefs, to each of her fifty oars, our theory, while it equally solves the difficulty created by the statement of Polybius—a difficulty which could only arise in quinqueremes with so large a crew as three hundred rowers,—is one which could be carried out with much more practical effect; for, by placing on the 1st bank 8 men $\times$ 5=40; 2nd, 7, $\times$ 5 = 35; 3rd, 6, $\times$ 5 = 30; 4th, 5, $\times$ 5 = 25; 5th, 4, $\times$ 5 = 20; there would be 150 on each side, or 300 rowers in all, as represented in the transverse midship section of what a quinquereme really must have been. (Fig. 3.)

Before proceeding to examine in detail how rowers thus arranged could work with effect, it will be desirable to show, that the outline of the vessel, of which a section is here given, corresponds not merely with the imperfect information obtained from ancient authors, but with what would be practically possible. To work the number of men here shown the breadth of the beam of the galley would, presuming every rower on board to be employed at the same time, require to be, at least, forty-two feet, which would allow eighteen feet for the range inside of each of the oars on the upper bank, and six feet for the width of the raised midship deck, where the hatches were placed. That width would allow for oars fifty-four feet in length, which would be ample where the highest row-port was nine feet above the level of the water; and as thirty men would be able to work on each

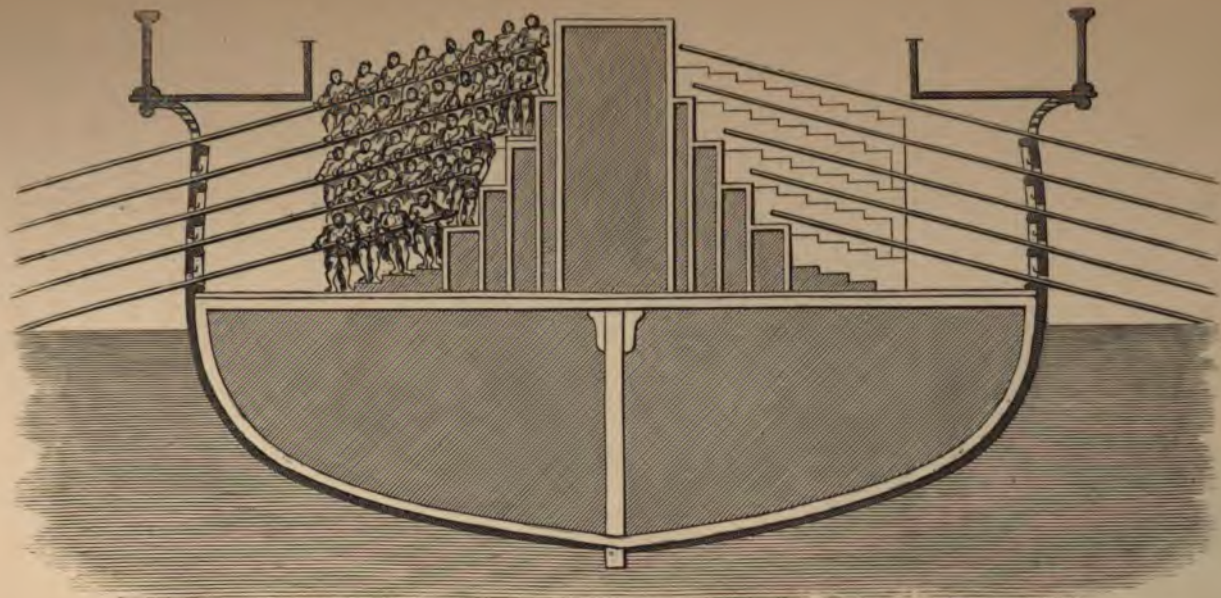
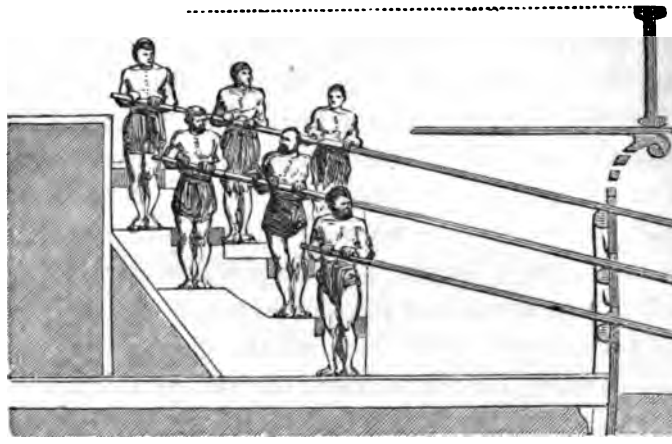


FIG. 3

oblique row, a hexireme, of no greater width, could carry three hundred and sixty rowers, a septireme four hundred and twenty, an octoreme four hundred and eighty, and so forth. In the case of a tesseracontere, with no greater beam, two thousand four hundred rowers could find employment, but as vessels of that enormous size, if more than the one was ever built, were very considerably wider[15],—it would be an improvement on the plan proposed by Mr. Howell, of ten men to each of the four hundred oars, to place fourteen rowers upon each of the oars of the upper bank, twelve on the second, ten on the third, eight on the fourth, and six on the fifth or lowest bank, which would give the required number of four thousand, though, in either case, many of the men would be more ornamental than serviceable. There is, however, no doubt that about three thousand men could be placed so as to row in each individual case with effect if they were apportioned to their oars in somewhat the scale of ten, nine, seven, six, and five, or say, thirty-seven men to each of the forty banks or oblique rows of oars, which would leave one thousand for reliefs.

If the men were arranged in the manner suggested, and as represented in the following front view of their positions when placed at their stations before they commenced work on board of a trireme, the various objections which have been raised to the plan of working oars placed one over the other are removed.

[15] Ptolemy's ship had a beam of 57 feet.

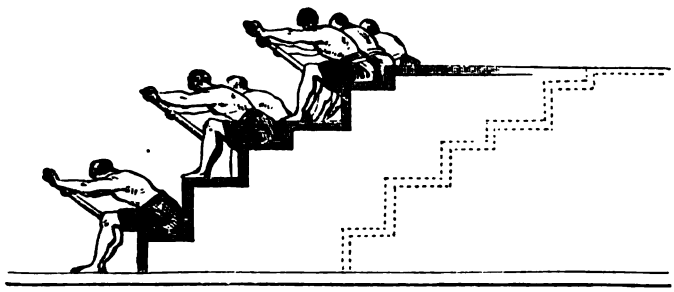


A practised eye will at once perceive that rowers thus arranged could work with great effect and simultaneously, without in any way interfering with the movements of each other. Nor would there be any difficulty in placing to advantage, as may be seen in our illustration (Fig. 3), of the transverse midship section of the quinquereme, so that each might work with effect, the very large number of three hundred rowers on vessels of that class.

If this can be shown, then the problem is solved as to how the various classes of galleys were rowed, for, if the principle of their classification was in accordance with these views, the difficulty does not increase with their dimensions, which is the case in all other theories; the extreme height of the highest bank of rowers, either in the case of the quinquereme, or in that of any of the larger vessels, not requiring to be more than nine feet above the water.

At the word of command from the officer, who

walked upon the elevated portion of the deck, and guided by the leading men, who were stationed at the inner end of the oars, the rowers, when seated, stretched the handles of their oars as far aft as their arms would permit, as shown in the following representation:—



The action of the rowers would, however, in some measure be regulated by the size of the galley and the space at their disposal. Placed alternately, those who worked at the lower tiers would, in all galleys, have full swing for their oars, as the footstools of the rowers who sat above them would not interfere with the free action of their bodies, though such might appear to be the case by the side representation, which in itself, and without reference to the front view, necessarily fails to show their exact position. But while the men in small galleys rowed from their seats, there is every reason to suppose that in the larger description, where great numbers of rowers were employed, they rose, if seated, as they now do, in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, and after moving one or two steps forward, according to the space at their disposal, they threw themselves backward into their seats with an impetus as simulta-

neous and harmonious as it would be possible to attain without the aid of a machine to regulate their joint action. Indeed, the ancients practised this art with the greatest care, and the rowers were frequently exercised on benches erected on the shore, and their harmonious movements were sometimes made an object of display in their theatres. In nearly every case they plied their oars to the sound of either vocal or instrumental music, so that a fleet of the larger description of galleys, when under weigh on the smooth waters of the Levant, must have been, as various ancient authors describe, a heart-stirring and magnificent display.

Vossius, Le Roy, and all who have written on the subject of how the rowers were placed at their oars, though they differ less or more from each other, and fail, as we conceive, to propound a theory applicable to vessels of every class, agree in the opinion, that the rowers were divided into classes, and that the *thranites*, who pulled the longest and highest oars and had the greatest amount of labour, were exposed to the darts of the enemy. For these reasons they received, as we learn from Thucydides, the highest pay; and from the same authority we ascertain that even the largest description of galleys "were *not* decked *throughout*."[16] These statements are important showing, as they do, a thoroughly organized system amongst the rowers, without which it would have been impossible to make available, in a limited space, large numbers of men, and answering the objections which have been frequently raised, to having so many men at work close together in the

[16] Thucydides (Bloomfield), vol. i. chap. xiv. p. 41.

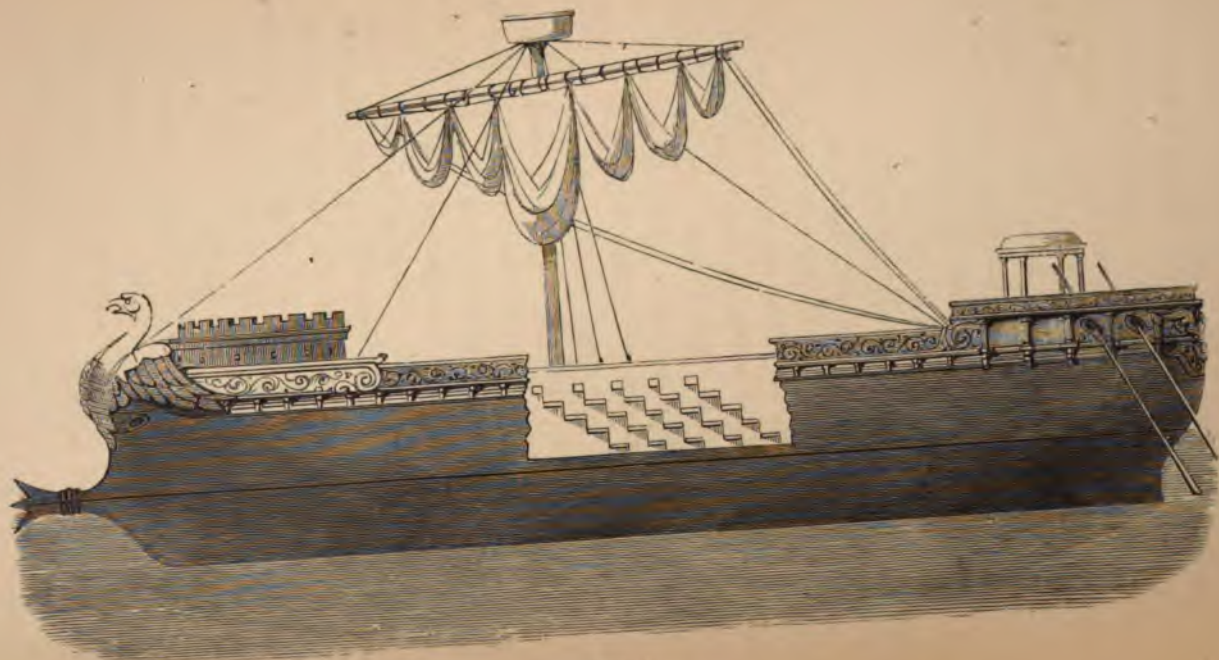


FIG. 4.

hold of a ship. By our illustrations, it will be seen that the galleys are only decked somewhat less than halfway across, in midship, a large space remaining open, so that the upper tier of rowers were above the level of the deck, and exposed to the "darts of the enemy," except so far as they, with the soldiers who fought from the sides as well as from those portions of the deck in the bow and stern, which were wholly covered, were protected by the bulwarks. Besides the beams, there were stringers placed fore and aft, constituting gunwales, on which the oars were balanced. The solid framework of the hull does not appear to have extended above the highest bank, and the platforms with the benches on which the rowers sat were either built with the ship or fitted afterwards according to circumstances.

The larger description of ancient galleys were, so far as we are now competent to form an opinion, divided into compartments, as shown in Fig. 4, and were not unlike the steamers of our own day, verifying the old adage that there is "nothing new under the sun;" and certainly this holds true on comparing the bows of the war galleys of the ancients with the iron-clad rams of modern times. Our theory, therefore, after the most careful inquiry and a close consideration of this question in all its details, is, that *the paddle-wheel steamer of to-day is really and practically in her structure* (though materially improved, and possessing the vast advantage of mechanical power) *the row galley of the ancients.* Her machinery and coal bunkers are distinct and separate from the hold, cabins, or any other portions of the ship; and

the paddles of the steamer, with the engines, take the position and perform the part of the rowers and their oars. Here modern genius and skill, as it has done in a thousand other instances, substitutes mechanical for manual labour. The modern paddle, in its revolutions, performs exactly the same duty as the oars of the ancients in their simultaneous movements, and the well-trained crews of the Grecian and Roman galleys in their action at the oars, were, so far as is traceable, almost as regular as the beat of the paddle-wheel.

Nor was it necessary to appropriate for the use of the rowers, even when three hundred men were engaged, a larger space in the ship than would now be required for a steam engine of one hundred and fifty horse-power, and her fuel for twenty days. A glance at the illustrations will show that, by the plan suggested, the whole of the fore and after holds with the midship portion of the galley, besides a large space below the platform of the rowers, could be appropriated to cargo and stores, the fore and after maindecks to troops, while the rowers themselves could be berthed in that portion of the vessel where they performed their daily toil, and where there would be space, however uncomfortable, for their beds and scanty apparel. These arrangements will, however, be better understood by a reference to the accompanying deck plan [Fig. 5], and comparing it with the side view and midship section previously given. Here it will be seen that the portion of the galley occupied by the rowers was open, though doubtless covered with an awning in warm, and a tarpaulin in wet weather. To have enclosed this

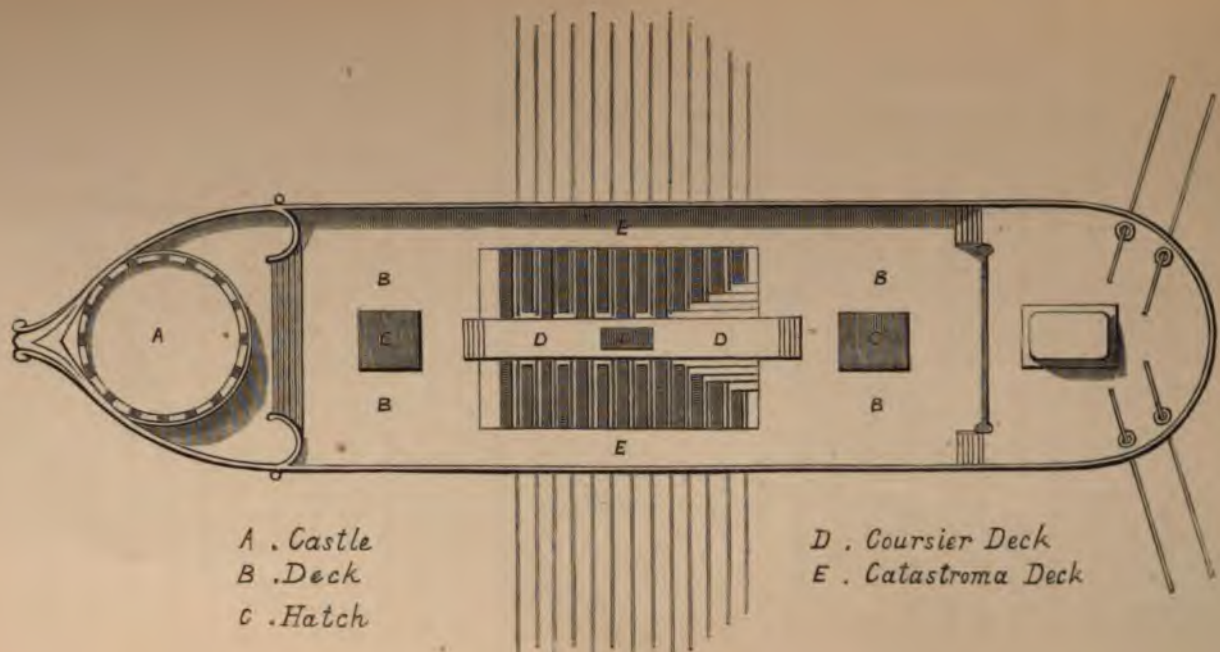

A
B
C
D
E
A . Castle
B . Deck
C . Hatch
D . Coursier Deck
E . Catastroma Deck

FIG. 5.

space with a deck would have been fatal to the men, as human beings, especially during the summer months, almost the only time when the galleys were employed, could not have existed, much less have laboured in a confined hold. Besides being open, there would be thorough ventilation, not merely by means of the air passing through the oar-ports, but by the constant current which, in all weathers, passed through the trellised framework, extending from the upper stringer or gunwale to the side platform or *catastroma*, where the troops were frequently placed, and which formed the connection between the poop and forecastle decks. "The soldiers," remarks Thucydides, "occupied the catastroma on the further side." It will therefore be seen, that this form of an ancient war-galley, while it answers every requirement of such a vessel, corresponds, even in matters of detail, with the scanty and imperfect accounts of ancient writers. "When they began," remarks Thucydides[17] in another place, "to engage with each other, they could not be easily pulled asunder, both on account of the multitude of ships, and also because they chiefly trusted to the soldiers on the catastroma for obtaining the victory."

It may, however, be remarked that in all such matters the statements of the ancient writers are frequently very conflicting, or apparently so. For instance, the same author, describing the galleys of the Bœotians and of Philoctetes, of whom Homer also writes, says, "Nor had they, as yet, *covered* ships;"[18] whereas we find in the 'Iliad' such expres-

[17] Vol. i. cap. xlix. [18] *Ibid.* cap. x.

sions as, "He marched upon the *hatches* with long strides;" and in the 'Odyssey,' where Ulysses is preparing to encounter Scylla, "upon the *hatches* of the prow of the ship he went." Mr. Howell, it is true, in opposition to the views of most translators, says that the hatches should be construed as meaning "the thwarts or seats upon which the rowers sat:"[19] but it is obvious that no other construction can be put upon the word except that it meant the hatches of the hold, which being slightly elevated above the level of the deck, would be a much more likely place for the master or officer of the galley to walk than upon the thwarts where the rowers sat; and this opinion is confirmed by the expression in the latter quotation, where "the hatches *of the prow*" are distinctly mentioned as the covering of the entrance to the fore-compartment or hold of the galley.

These conflicting statements may, however, be easily accounted for by the fact that, though portions of the galleys were open, other portions were decked, while the proportion of the open and closed spaces must have varied according to the class and size of the galleys or the purposes for which they were employed. In all such matters, also, different nations had doubtless different arrangements, if not in the form, at least in the outfit and general equipment of their galleys, and these must have undergone great changes in the course of centuries. Nor does it modify the opinion that "hatches" in their literal sense are meant, for in the time of Homer, though the galleys were all single-banked and "open," they had a deck in midships and at the bow and the stern,

[19] Howell's Pamphlet, p. 7.

as well as the catastroma or platform in the waist, for the use of the soldiers.

Although most of the war galleys of the ancients had high towers at the stern, and more especially at the bow, these were frequently temporary erections, and did not interfere with the general plan of the solid hull of the ship. Nor need they be here noticed, as little or no difference of opinion exists in regard to them. It may, however, be remarked that they appear to have varied in form and size, with the galley, the purposes to which she was applied, or the fancy of her owners; and that the oar-ports could not have been of the form generally drawn. They are more likely to have been ▯ oblong, fashioned in such a shape as to allow the oar which, in large galleys of many banks, could only be unshipped by being passed outwards, to be brought pretty close alongside of the vessel when the rowers ceased work. In regard to the seats, stools, or benches of the rowers, so frequently mentioned, and which have created a good deal of controversy, the plan here suggested satisfies all these requirements, for to each rower a separate seat or stool attached to the oblique benches or steps is appropriated. The height of each of the oar-ports above the level of the water, in that of the quinquereme, and in all vessels of greater dimensions, would be as follows:—

	ft.	in.
From the first or lowest *port* to water line	2	0
Distance between 1st and 2nd port . . .	1	9
„ „ 2nd „ 3rd „	1	9
„ „ 3rd „ 4th „	1	9
„ „ 4th „ 5th „	1	9
	9	0

So that the height of the sill of the port on the fifth or highest bank would 9 feet above the water line.

The space between the rowers seated on their respective benches or platforms, doubtless varied according to the size of the galley. While from four to six feet between each rower seated on the same level would be ample in the case of either uniremes, biremes, or triremes, galleys of the larger class, in many cases, most likely had an intervening space of from six to even ten feet, so as to afford room for the sweep of the handles of the oars, and enable the rowers to walk one or two steps aft and then throw themselves backwards with greater impetus into their seats as already described.

Summary. The conclusions at which we have arrived may be condensed as follows:—

1. Ancient galleys were classed or rated according to their number of banks, rows or tiers of oars.

2. All galleys above the unireme had their oar-ports placed obliquely above each other in horizontal rows.

3. No galley had more than five horizontal rows.

4. Every galley, from the unireme to the quinquereme inclusive, derived its name or class from the number of *horizontal* rows.

5. All galleys, above a quinquereme, were likewise classed according to the number of rows. In their case, however, the *oblique* rows were counted; but, in all cases, from the smallest to the largest, including Ptolemy's tesseraconteres, *each row, whether oblique or horizontal, was a distinct bank of oars*, which, like the number of guns wherever they were

placed in wooden men-of-war, *constituted the only basis for their classification.*

6. The portion of the galley appropriated to the rowers and their oars, was as separate from the other portions of the vessel as is the machinery of a paddle-wheel steamer. The rowers, also, like the modern engineers and stokers, were entirely distinct from the seamen and marines; and amongst them were leaders and crack rowers, who were as indispensable to get the galley under weigh and keep the rest of the rowers in time, as are the engineers of our own day, who start and keep the machinery in proper working order.

In a word, the row-galley constituted the steamship of the ancients, as distinguished from their sailing vessels. She had sails to aid her progress when the winds were fair, as a steamer now has, but the one depended on her oars as much as the other now does upon her machinery; and, however vast the improvements, there is really no difference in principle between the galley of the ancients and the steamship of to-day. In practice they are the same, except that steam is substituted for manual labour. An oar is a paddle, and the blades of the oars fastened together, like the spokes round the axle of a wheel, and projecting into the water, constitute the paddle-wheel of modern times.

ON THE ABYSSINIAN RIVERS WHICH GIVE RISE TO THE NILOTIC INUNDATION.

BY THE LATE JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., VICE-PRESIDENT.

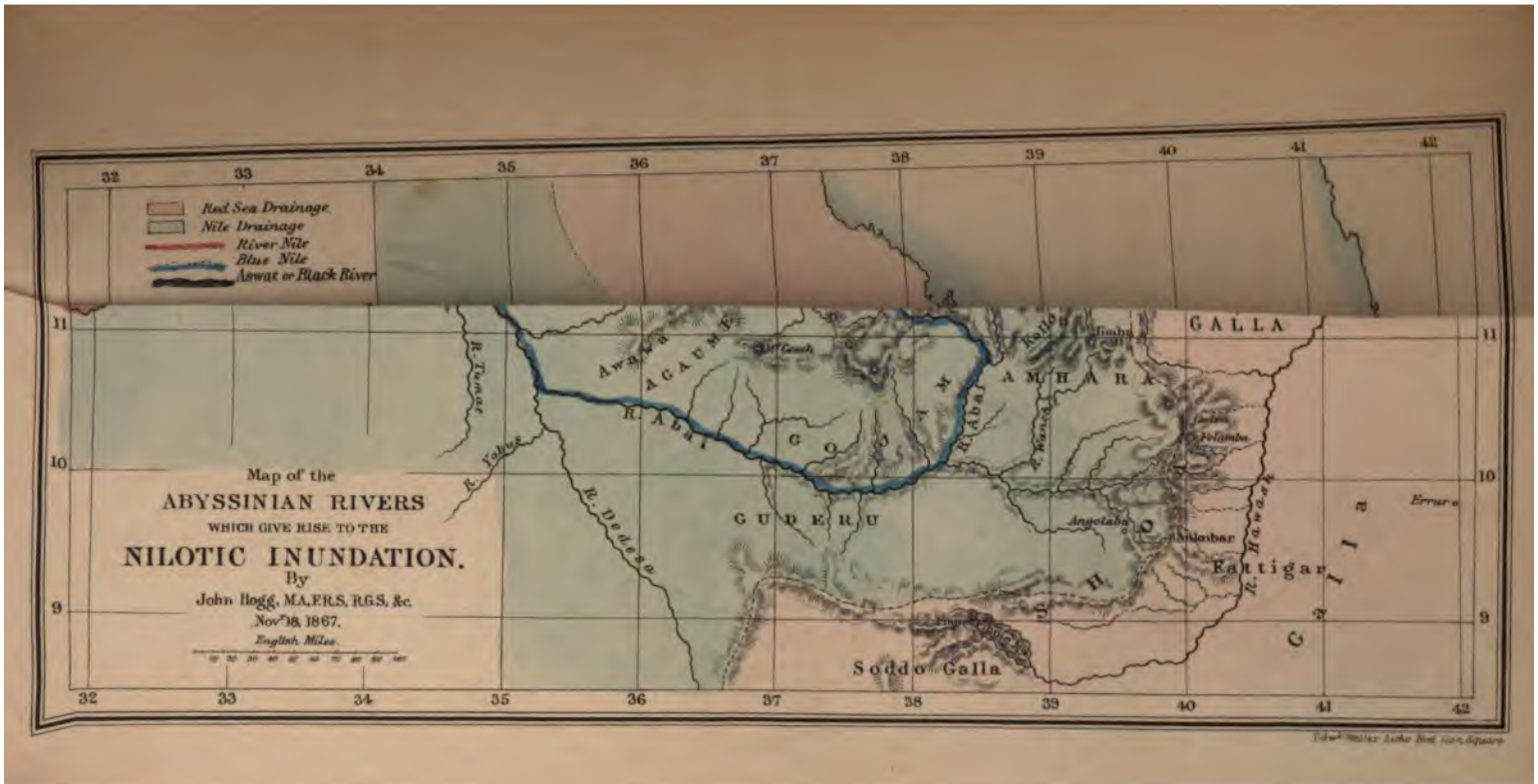
(Read November 20th, 1867.)

[The following papers were left by Mr. Hogg, at his lamented death, in an unfinished state. I have simply endeavoured to verify his references, with as few changes as possible in the text as he left it.—W. S. W. VAUX.]

IN the small sketch-map of Abyssinia, which accompanies this Paper, I have given a view of the chief *water-system* of that country.

That portion of Africa is very considerable, occupying a large district of from seven to eight degrees of latitude, by some eight degrees in longitude. Its extent is given by some at 245,000 geographical square miles, but this is only a rough estimate, because its boundaries are not distinctly defined.

The principal rivers and large affluents to the true Nile are only two, viz. the Blue River and the Black River, the former joining it at Khartûm, the latter near El Damer. There are also two chief but smaller tributaries to the former, namely, the rivers Rahad and Dinder; and, in the extreme south, the Dodesa, with the united waters of the river Yabus, enters it. Little, however, is known of these affluents or of the still smaller river Tumat.


Red Sea Drainage
Nile Drainage
River Nile
Blue Nile
Aswat or Black River
Map of the
ABYSSINIAN RIVERS
WHICH GIVE RISE TO THE
NILOTIC INUNDATION.
By
John Hogg, M.A., F.R.S., R.G.S., &c.
Novr 18, 1867.
English Miles.
GALLA
AMHARA
AGAUME
GOJAM
GUDERU
SHOA
Soddo Galla
Fattigar
Galla
Angotaba
Mulubar
Errur
R. Abai
R. Tumat
R. Yabus
R. Dedesa
R. Hawash
R. Wanchi
Kallo
Jimba
Awawa
Mt Geesh
Golden Folamba
Fimbo
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
11
10
9

The tributaries of the Black River, *Bahr el Aswat*, are more numerous, as the Minna, Teccazze, Royan, Settite, Salám, Angarep, and many others with smaller streams. With hardly an exception, the tributaries of both Blue and Black Nile flow from E. to W., or from S.E. to N.W.

One remarkable feature in the course of the Teccazze, with its earlier branch or river Minna, is its great curvature. Beginning at the south slopes of Ras Amba and Mount Wogen (or *Wakkan*=10,270 feet), it proceeds in a southern course, thence sweeping round the province of Samyen on the east, and receiving the Weri at the north-east corner; it then flows with the united waters of several rivers under the name of Bahr Settite to the west, and, after its junction with the Salám and some other rivers, it, like the *Bahr el Aswat*, flows north and north-west, until it enters the true Nile between Berber and El Damer. The river Abaï, or upper portion of the *Bahr el Azrek*, is greatly curved; for, taking its rise among the fountains or sources at the base of the pyramidal mountain Giesh (9700 feet), described by Bruce,[1] on the south of the lake Tzana, and flowing through its southern end, it makes a bold sweep around the south-east, and receives in that course the rivers Bachilo and Wanchit. Flowing thence from east to west, after its union with the southern Dodesa and Tumat, it runs with a rapid but meandering course, with the title the *Azrek*, or Blue Nile, through

[1] These sources were first discovered by Peter Paez in 1618; they are described by him, as well as by Jerome Lobo, long before Bruce's time. Mount Giesh is also written Geesh or Guish or Guix, but Gheez is most likely the correct form.

Sennaar and Upper Nubia to Khartûm, where it meets and tends to purify the muddy and unwholesome waters of the White Nile, or *El Abiad.*

On the north, beyond the Teccazze and Settite, there is a considerable stream in the rainy season, rising in the north-east near Dixan (7420 feet), and bearing the name of the Mareb, or *Gash:* this, too, presents another, but smaller, curvature on the north of Tigrè; and after flowing through the districts of Basen and Takka, past the town of Kassala, and spreading into numerous branches, is said to lose itself on the north in a large sandy marsh; though I think it highly probable that some of its branches make their way by percolation through it, in certain places, into the *Bahr el Aswat*, and thence into the Nile.[2]

Still further north, there is, in time of the rainy season, the river termed Barka, which proceeds with many eastern branches or channels to the Red Sea. But most of these watercourses or *Wadys* become dry in the hot season. Some of the principal sources or head-streams of the two large rivers, the Azrek and Aswat, as the Wanchit, Jemma, Bachilo, Teccazze, Tellare, Samra, Selhe, and Weri, rise from the roots of the great mountain-chain, which constitutes the eastern and natural barrier of the country. Major Harris describes this lofty barrier as "The Abyssinian Caucasus, which rises like a bulwark out of the ocean-like expanse of the Adel plain, and an as-

[2] But Sir S. Baker considers the waters of the Gash to be "entirely *absorbed* by the soil" before it can reach the Aswat. ('Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. x. p. 282.)

cent to which, of a few hours, will depress the mercury in the thermometer more than 60°".[3]

The Azrek is the most important of the two chief Abyssinian rivers, as it presents a goodly stream of excellent water all the year; whereas the Aswat is nearly, or in many parts, quite dry during the summer, which is not the case, however, with its noble tributary, the Settite.

The *first*, coming from the south-east, and through the southern end of Lake Dembea or Tzana, flows through a vast and, for the most part, beautiful territory. It is the ancient *Astapus*,—the *Ἀστάπους* or *Ἀστοσάβας*, of Strabo.[4] Pomponius Mela calls it *Astapes*. The meaning of the local word *Astapus*, then accounted the *real Nile*, is, according to Diodorus Siculus, "*water* (flowing) out from *darkness*," *τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀστάπουν προσηγορεύκασιν, ὅπερ ἐστί μεθερμηνευόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλήνων διάλεκτον ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ὕδωρ*:[5] Pliny, likewise, states, "cognominatus *Astapus*, quod illarum gentium lingua significat, '*aquam è tenebris*' profluentem;"[6] and Solinus, copying the Roman naturalist, makes a similar statement, "*Astapum* indigetes vocant, scilicet, '*aquam è tenebris*' profluentem."[7]

This local name has very probably originated from the river Astapus having its chief sources in three or four holes in the ground beneath Mount Giesh, and

[3] Harris, 'Highlands of Ethiopia,' vol. iii. p. 265.

[4] Strabo, Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 786.

[5] Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. 37. Diodorus thus remarks:—*οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τῷ Νείλῳ τῆς ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἀθεωρησίας καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀγνοίας οἰκείαν ἔταξαν προσηγορίαν.*

[6] Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 10.

[7] Solinus, C. J., Collect. Rer. Memor.

its copious streams issuing forth into daylight from dark sources of unknown depth.

It is usually termed by the natives the *Azure* or *Blue* River, or Nile, "Bahr el Azrek," from the dark-blue tint of its waters.

In its more southern progress, it is known by the title *Abaï*, or Abawi, Abaoi, Abavi, or *Abauhi*, which signifies, according to Father Lobo, who calls it the *Nile*, the "Father of Waters." *Ab* is "father," and *u-ah* or *oo-ah*, in the Shoho dialect (in Amharic *waha*) "water."[8]

The celebrated geographer Mercator, in his account of the 'Kingdom of the Abyssinians,'[9] writes, "*Abanhi* qui Astapus Ptolemo;" but Aba*n*hi is clearly a misprint for Aba*u*hi.

At Khartum this river joins at about 15° 30′ N. lat. the *true* Nile, otherwise the *White* Nile, *Bahr el Abiad*, which flows somewhat slowly through vast marshes from the south, and is so named from its *white* or turbid water. Baron von Müller says, "The water of the *White* Nile, which in its lower course is muddy, contains salt, and is of a *white* colour from the clayey soil and vegetable remains."[10]

The Blue Nile was long, and in the time of the Portuguese and of Bruce, considered as the *real* Nile; but late researches have proved this beautiful course of waters to be only one of its two chief branches. The epithet of *Blue* or Azure, *Azrek*, seems to have been given to it from its particular depth of colour and transparency, or, as Sir S. Baker

[8] See Markham, Hist. Abyss. Exped. p. 143, *note*.

[9] Mercator, 'Atlas,' Amst. (edit. 5), 1623.

[10] 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xx. p. 287.

states, "During the dry season, the water of the *Blue* Nile is clear, and its broad surface reflects the colour of the *blue* sky; hence the appellation."[11]

The *White* Nile, as we now know, receives its vast supply of water from the immense equatorial lakes in the centre of Africa; these lakes or fresh-water seas being replenished by the heavy and constant rains[12] which fall for many months in succession.

The *second* principal affluent to the Nile, and which unites with it between Berber and El Damer, somewhat south of 18° (about 17° 37′ N. lat., and 34° E. long.), is the *Black* River, or *Bahr el Aswat* of the Arabs; and it is so termed from the *black* or dark-coloured silt and soil[13] its flood waters bring down from the higher and central districts of Abyssinia, which are chiefly composed of *dark* trap or basalt.[14]

This river is the *Astaboras*, *Ἀσταβόρας* of Strabo,[15] the *Ἀσταβορρᾶς* of Josephus (Antiq. Jud. ii. 10), and

[11] Baker, 'Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia,' p. 552.

[12] Do the *melted snows* from Mount Kenia assist, in certain months of the year, in swelling the White Nile?

[13] The *Black* Nile, or Atbara, doubtless received its name from the *black* soil or earth which the torrents in the rainy period carry along with them. (*Vide* Linant, 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. ii. p. 185.)

[14] Sir S. Baker tells us the rapid stream *Mahatepe* was the limit of his journey on the east. He thus describes the country and its geology:—"I was now among the mountains, whose drainage caused the sudden rise of the Atbara and the Nile. Far as the eye could reach to the south and east, the range extended in a confused mass of peaks of great altitude, from the sharp granite head of 1000 to flat-topped basalt hills of 5000 or 6000 feet, and other conical points, perhaps double that height. The whole of the *basalt* in that part of the country was a *dark* slate-colour; in some places it was almost black." ('Nile Tributaries,' p. 400.)

[15] Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 786.

the *Astabores* of Pliny; it still bears a name slightly modified from the above, *Atbara.*

It will be observed that the two first syllables in the names of each of these rivers, *Asta*, are the same; and, though we are not able to say now what may have been the original meaning of this word, we may fairly presume it to have been a local Æthiopian name.

Pliny tells us that the Nile was, for some distance along its course, called *Siris*, "sic quoque etiamnum *Siris* ut ante, *nominatus* per aliquot millia" (lib. v. cap. 10).

This agrees with its more ancient Hebrew name of *Sihor*, שחר, meaning *black;* it was no doubt so termed from the *dark* alluvium brought down by the river at the time of its inundation. (See 1 Chron. xiii. 5; Isaiah xxiii. 3; and Jerem. ii. 18.) So Dionysius says, in his 'Periegetes,' v. 223:—

> *Σῖρις ὑπ' Αἰθιόπων κικλήσκεται· οἱ δὲ Συήτης*
> *Ἐννάεται στρεφοέντι μετ' οὔνομα Νεῖλον ἔθεντο.*

Which is confirmed by Festus Avienus (Descrip. Orbis, v. 336). Josephus tells us that the Nile was likewise called *Geon* (Antiq. Jud. I. i. 3), *Γηὼν*; and according to the Byzantine writer, Joannes Lydus, it had *two* other appellations, viz. *Ilas* and *Chrysorrhoas.* Thrasyllus, also, states its former name was *Melas.*

In its upper portions, the Black Nile receives, even at the present day, many different names, as Settite, Mahatepe, Teccazze, Bellegas, Minna, Angarep, Salám, and others: and it has its origin on the slopes of the Chalga and Abyssinian plateaus which border

upon the territory or plain of Dembea—itself treeless, but rich in pastures—at no great distance from the lake Tzana. In the second famous Adulitan inscription, this large river, or the Teccazze, is expressly called the *Nile*, *Νεῖλον*.

The effect of the rains descending in torrents upon the lofty mountains and high lands near the sources of the *Atbara*, or Taccazze, produce throughout its whole length sudden and rapid changes. Its annual flood commences early in the summer, about June 23rd, and is graphically described by Sir S. Baker.[16]

The regular rainy season in Abyssinia usually sets in about the middle of June, and lasts for three months, till the middle of September; then the Atbara and the Blue Nile become vast and grand rivers, having been in the dry season both very shallow and the former in most places almost, if not quite dry It appears that the *primary cause* of the inundation of the Nile in Egypt is the *Abyssinian flood;* for, towards the middle of June, that flood commences, and the waters of the Nile are then rapidly rising.

The floods brought down by the White Nile are proved to be *later*, and are caused by the periodical and long-continued rains near the Equator, increased, doubtless, and maintained in their full volume by the waters of the Equatorial Lakes. These floods do not, according to Sir S. Baker, arrive at Khartûm until about fifteen days after those of the southern Abyssinian river, the Blue Nile or *Abaï*, aided by the then united and copious waters of the Rahad and Dinder.

[16] Baker, 'Nile Tributaries,' pp. 51–3.

But the periodical rains do not *always* begin throughout Abyssinia at one and the *same* time, namely, at Midsummer, as Sir S. Baker describes they did in 1861, the year he was there. In *some* years they evidently commence earlier, at least, in certain places,[17] for MM. Galinier and Ferret mention, in the middle of May, 1842, "la *saison* des *pluies*, qui était déjà commencée." Again, on May 15, they state, "La pluie tomba à torrents;" and on May 16, they notice, "Une pluie torrentielle." This appears to have occurred in the district of Waggera, near Gondar,[18] about 7420 feet above the sea. We learn, also, that near Metemma, in Kalabat, the rains begin in May.

Bruce's accounts of the *annual period* of the Abyssinian floods, and of the rising of the waters in the Nile, vary from that of Sir S. Baker; but I see *no* reason to *doubt* his accuracy, as his statements were the result of several years' observation, whilst that of

[17] In some parts of Abyssinia there is an *early* rainfall, which lasts a short time. Mr. Markham, after mentioning the freshes or floods caused by the *spring rains* of April and May, in the north at the Koheito mountains, near the Sooroo defile, states, "after these rains cease, there is generally a dry month, and then the *regular rainy* season commences" (p. 385).

[18] The *rainfall*, according to Bruce, in the year 1770, at Gondar was, in May about $2\frac{3}{4}$; in June, $4\frac{1}{2}$; in July, 10; in August, $15\frac{1}{2}$; in September, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches respectively, altogether amounting to *above* 35 inches, or just about *one* English yard. I find that in *seven* years (1774–80) the *mean* rainfall in London (according to the 'Journal of the Royal Society') amounted to $22\frac{1}{4}$ inches for the *twelve months*, whereas that at Gondar was the fall in *five months* only. Mr. Dalton makes the *mean annual* rainfall in England 31·30 inches; and Sir J. Herschel gives the *mean yearly* fall at Greenwich=24·40 inches, at Penzance=37·20 inches, and at Kendal=53·70 inches.

the latter traveller was the experience of only a *single* year.

Bruce records: "In the beginning of *May*, hundreds of streams pour themselves from Gojam, Damot, Maitsha, and Dembea, into the Lake Tzana, which had become low by intense evaporations, but now begins to fill insensibly, and contributes a large quantity of water to the Nile," or the *Abaï*. The *increase* of the Nile is not discerned till about *June*. "In the *beginning* of *June*, the sun having now passed all Abyssinia, the *rivers* there are all *full*, and then is the *time* of the greatest *rains* in Abyssinia."

The following extract also shows that Bruce was aware that the Equatorial rains in the upper country whence *White* Nile flowed, afforded *lasting supply* of water for the inundation of Egypt:—"The rains collected by the great rivers in Abyssinia and their tributaries would be absorbed, nor be able to pass the burning deserts, nor find their way into Egypt, were it not for the *White River*, which, rising in a country of almost *perpetual rain*, joins to it a never failing stream equal to the Nile," [that is, to *Abaï*]. He adds that "the *rains cease* in Abyssinia about the *8th of September*."[19]

Yet, a later explorer in that region, Dr. Beke, says, "The *flooding* of the Abaï does not *begin* in Abyssinia till about the *Summer Solstice* (*June* 21*st*);" observing

[19] Bruce's 'Travels in Africa,' etc., vol. v. pp. 328, 330, 333, 371, 3rd edition, 8vo, 1813. Also Father Lobo, in his 'Voyage to Abyssinia' (1625), says, "From the middle of June to the middle of September, the *rains* are almost continually *falling*."

further that—"The Blue Nile *begins* its increase about *June* 11*th*."[20]

A still more recent traveller, Mr. Markham, records:—"From *June* to *September*, Abyssinia gets her *rainy season;* for her mountains are high enough to reach and condense the moisture that is hurrying northwards, and to bring it down to deluge and fertilize her plateaux and valleys." He adds, "Only a sorry sprinkling along the coast, during the winter and spring months, is got from the Red Sea when easterly winds prevail."[21]

The more *general* time, however, for the usual commencement of the *periodical* rains in the alpine districts of Samyen, Tigré, and Lasta, is about Midsummer's day, or the *summer solstice*;[22] a fact uniformly attested by classical authors, some of whom I shall now briefly cite.

In a fragment of Æschylus occur the following verses, relating to the *Ethiopian origin* of the Nile *flood*:—

Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἔνθα Νεῖλος ἑπτάῤῥους
Γαῖαν κυλίνδων ῥευμάτων ἐπομβρίαις,
Ἐν ᾗ πυρωπὸν μηνὸς ἐκλάμψαι φλόγα,
Αἴγυπτος ἁγνοῦ νάματος πληρουμένη.[23]

[20] See 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xvii. pp. 26–27; and vol. xx. p. 292.

[21] Markham, Hist. Abyss. Exped. p. 171.

[22] Sir S. Baker, in the preface to his book, p. ix., again states that the Abyssinian "flood occurs suddenly *about the* 20*th June*, and the grand rush of water pouring down the Blue Nile and the Atbara into the parent channel inundates Lower Egypt."

[23] Æschyl. Trag. T. Stanleii, curante J. C. De Pauw, vol. ii. p. 648. Hagæ Com. 1745. This is a truly elegant edition, but not very correct in the text.

Here the third verse is considered to allude to the *Dog-star* (Sirius), at the rising of which the inundation in Ethiopia was represented to begin. There is, also, a fragment of the play called 'Archelaus,' by Euripides, preserved in Athenæus, with the following lines:—

> *Νείλου λιπὼν κάλλιστον ἐκ γαίας ὕδωρ,*
> *Ὃς ἐκ μελαμβροτοῖο πληροῦται θέρει*
> *Αἰθιωπίδος γῆς,*[24]

which show the then belief that the filling of the Nile occurred during the hot summer of Ethiopia.

Again, Diodorus records the "inundation of the Nile as commencing at the summer solstice, and increasing until the equinox in the autumn," *τῆς γὰρ πληρώσεως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ θερινῶν τροπῶν ποιούμενος αὔξεται μὲν μέχρι τῆς ἰσημερίας τῆς μετοπωρινῆς.*[25] This period would include from about June 21 to September 23; in fact, nearly the very time, as still observed, for the Abyssinian usual rainy season.

Lucretius alludes to the increase of the Nile from the lofty Ethiopian mountains, "when the all-searching sun is victorious with his melting rays:"—

> "Forsitan Æthiopûm penitus de montibus altis
> Crescat, ubi . . . . .
> Tabificis subigit radiis Sol omnia lustrans,"

that is to say, in *summer:* and Athenæus correctly remarks:—"There are in Ethiopia many and violent rains about the rising of the Dog-star until the rising

[24] Athenæi Deipn. lib. ii. Epit. 88, edit. Schweigh., Argent. 1801.

[25] Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. i. cap. 36. Also he adds, in cap. 39, more clearly, *ὁ γὰρ Νεῖλος ἄρχεται μὲν πληροῦσθαι κατὰ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς . . . . λήγει δ' ὕστερον ἰσημερίας φθινοπωρινῆς.*

of Arcturus," ὑδάτων πολλῶν καὶ λαμπρῶν γινομένων κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Κυνὸς ἀνατολὰς, ἕως τῆς ἐπιτολῆς Ἀρκτούρου.[26]

Tibullus states that "The Nile is increased with summer water, when Sirius, or the Dog-star, cleaves the parched fields,"—

> "Qualis et, arentes cum findit Sirius agros,
> Fertilis æstiva Nilus abundet aqua:"[27]

Claudian, that the Nile begins to fill in summer:—

> "Cumque die Titana *Canis* flagrantior armat;"

with the further observation that it is *not* flooded in winter:—

> "*Glacie* non ille *solutâ*,
> Nec circumfuso scopulis exuberat *imbre*:"[28]

while Lucan adds:—

> "Nilus neque suscitat undas
> Ante Canis radios, nec ripis alligat amnem
> Ante parem nocti Libra sub judice Phœbum."[29]

Seneca, in his "Natural Questions, relates that Œnipodes of Chios, "ait *hieme* Nilum, qui à nullo imbre adjuvetur, tenuari, deinde crescere per æstatem, quo tempore . . . . redit rigor fontibus:"[30]

[26] Athenæi Deipn. lib. ii. Epit. 89.

[27] Tibullus, lib. i. Eleg. 7, v. 21. So Virgil, where speaking of the Dog or Sirius, has exactly the same expression, which occurs twice (in Georg. ii. v. 353), "findit Canis æstifer arva," and (in Æn. iii. v. 141), "steriles exurere Sirius agros."

[28] Claudian, Eidyl. 47, vv. 25, 33. [29] Lucan, Pharsal. lib. x. v. 225.

[30] Seneca, Nat. Quæst. lib. iv. cap. 1. Seneca doubtless took this from Diodorus Siculus, who had about a century before thus written, "according to Œnipodes of Chios," τὸν Νεῖλον εὐλόγως κατὰ μὲν τὸν χειμῶνα μικρὸν εἶναι, ... κατὰ δὲ τὸ θέρος . . . . πληροῦσθαι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῦ ῥύσιν ἀνεμποδίστως. (Bib. Hist. lib. i. cap. 41.)

and, lastly, a much later Greek author, Heliodorus, narrates of the Great Nile festival, that it was celebrated by the Egyptians[31] chiefly about the summer solstice, when the river receives the commencement of its swelling:—*τὰ Νειλῶα τότε τὴν μεγίστην παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἑορτὴν ἐνεστηκέναι, κατὰ τρόπας μὲν τὰς θερινὰς μάλιστα, καὶ ὅτε ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐξήσεως ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπιλαμβάνει τελουμένην.*[32] The same author justly adds:—"If the Egyptians regard the Nile as the 'Father of Waters,' and esteem him as a Deity, Ethiopia ought actually to receive worship as the mother of their god," that is to say, for affording the primary sources—melted snows and rains—of the fertilizing inundation.

In Lower Egypt, about September 25th, the greatest height of the Nilotic inundation takes place; and, by the middle or 10th of November, it has materially lessened.

Having thus noticed some of the ancient accounts respecting the origin and season of the increase of the Nile, many of which, it will be seen, are extremely accurate,[33]—I shall now refer to Sir S. Baker's description of them, and of the effect produced upon the White Nile by the floods of its chief affluents.

[31] Aristænetus speaks of the dances and divine odes which they sang to the Nile at that festival:—*χορούς δὲ συστησάμενοι ἄδουσι τῷ Νείλῳ ᾠδὰς αἳ τῷ Διὶ ἄδονται.* (Fragmenta Hist. Græcor. vol. iv. p. 320; C. Mullerus, edit. Par. 1851.)

[32] Heliodorus, 'Æthiopica,' lib. ix. edit. Lut. Par. 1619. He has taken this from Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. 36 and cap. 39.

[33] Arrian, Hist. Ind. 6, remarks on the nature of the Nile,—*ὥστε ἀπὸ τῶνδε ἔξεστι τεκμηριοῦσθαι καὶ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ πάθημα τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐοικὸς εἶναι ὕεσθαι τὰ Αἰθιόπων ὄρεα τοῦ θέρεος· καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἐμπιπλάμενον τὸν Νεῖλον ὑπερβάλλειν ὑπὲρ τὰς ὄχθας ἐς τὴν γῆν τὴν Αἰγυπτίην θολερὸς ὤν.*

Sir S. Baker arrived at Khartûm on June 11th, 1862, when he found the Bahr el Azrek "very low, but slightly and steadily" swelling. On June 23rd, 1861, he had experienced the sudden flood poured down the dried bed of the Bahr el Aswat or *Atbara*, owing to the heavy rains of Abyssinia at the commencement of the wet season which had flooded simultaneously the Settite and Salám, together with the head of the Atbara. At the close of June, in 1862, while at Khartûm, he saw the Blue Nile rise from the same cause. Thus the Atbara and the Blue Nile rose *simultaneously*, bringing down the drainage of Abyssinia into the *true* Nile, which at that time was *not* full, though daily increasing above Khartûm; while, at the same time below the junction of the Atbara, a great flood was pouring into the river, caused by the excess of the Abyssinian rainfall rushing suddenly into its main stream.

The inundation in Lower Egypt commences in July, and continues till the end of September. Now the last day's rain, when Sir S. Baker was in Abyssinia, was on the 16th September, at which date the wet season closed; thus the flood came down the Atbara on 23rd June, and the rain ceased on 16th September, while the inundation of Lower Egypt occupies a similar period, allowing a short extra time for the flood to reach that country and afterwards to retire.

The White Nile, of *lake* origin, in an equatorial rainfall of ten months, keeps up the great volume of water that nourishes Egypt; but the Blue Nile and the Black Nile or *Atbara*, of *mountain* origin, with a short but tremendous rainfall of three (or four)

months, rushing into the main or White River, cause the inundation of Lower Egypt,"[34] and depositing much *fresh soil* or alluvium from their waters, the vast fertility of all that country is annually secured. So, indeed, these lines of the great poet continue to this day—even after a lapse of more than two thousand and three hundred years—most faithful.

. . . . πᾶσα δ' εὐθαλὴς
Αἴγυπτος, ἁγνοῦ νάματος πληρουμένη,
Φερέσβιον Δήμητρος ἀντέλλει στάχυν.

The lake Tzana, or *Dembea*, is the *Pseboa* (Ψεβώα) of Strabo (p. 1177), and Ψεβω of Stephanus Byzant. (p. 726); it is very beautiful, and is generally near seventy miles long and forty miles broad, but it is enlarged by the summer rains. Its situation is 6100 feet above the sea. Ptolemy calls it *Coloä* or Caloë[35] Palus. The flat and alluvial lands about its shores, and especially the rich plain of Dembea, would indicate with geologists that the lake itself had been in ages past much more *extensive*. Several small islands, with one named *Dak*,[36] of large size, are seen in its waters; they are very lovely, and are covered with luxuriant foliages, and add greatly to its picturesqueness.

The captive, Dr. Blanc, describes *Dak* or *Dek* as

[34] Baker, 'On the Tributaries of the Nile in Abyssinia;' Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. x. p. 294.

[35] Ptolemy, Geogr. lib. iv. c. 8. There appear to have been *two* Coloas, one being now probably *Halai*. Cellarius says, "aliud oppidum, sed prope *Astapodem* (hodie *Abaï*) fluvium fuit *Coloë*, Κολόη, in cujus situ Ptolemæus et Arrianus non conveniunt." (Cellar. Geogr. vol. ii. p. 960, edit. Lips. 1732.)

[36] Strabo well describes it thus:—Ψεβώα λίμνη μεγάλη, νῆσον ἐχοῦσα οἰκουμένην ἱκανῶς. (Edit. Amst. 1707, lib. xvii. p. 1177.)

"a cluster of several isles." The larger are occupied by inhabitants, contain some large villages and four churches of great sanctity, and are all well wooded. He says, "they give to the scenery a charm which even the Leman with all its beauties cannot rival; nothing can be more graceful on near approach than their dark basaltic walls a few feet above the water, covered with a splendid luxuriant vegetation gracefully bending over the sides, and reflecting their charming shadows in the deep blue waters of the lake."

"We enjoyed the lake (Tana sea) immensely; we loved its clear fresh water, its calm stillness, the blue mountains and dark island reflected on its unruffled surface; we were never tired of gazing on the plying canoes. The very bulrushes themselves had their charms."[37]

Dr. Blanc does not mention what species of bulrush these are; if (as is most likely) the beautiful paper-reed, *Cyperus Papyrus*, be one of them, the "bulrush canoes" or frail skiffs he names were doubtless of a similar build with those used in Egypt on the Nile.[38]

All the larger Abyssinian rivers run from the high lands, that are chiefly basaltic, to the west and north-west; they bring down much rich soil and black mud, which, with so great a mass of water, render to the Egyptians their annual fertility and wealth.

[37] 'Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xiii. pp. 45–6.

[38] See the figures in my paper, 'On Vessels made of the Papyrus,' in Loudon's Mag. Nat. Hist. vol. ii. 1829.

Bruce, in his Appendix, vol. v. of Travels, says it is the only boat they have in Abyssinia, and is named *Tuncoa* (p. 6). He mentions the Papyrus rush as existing in the lakes of Ethiopia (p. 14).

Diodorus Siculus was one of the first to mention the new soil[39] or weed brought down with the Nile. Arrian more fully relates the same important fact in these words:—*ὁπότε ἰλὺν καταφέροιεν καὶ πηλὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων, ἔνθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς αἱ πηγαί εἰσιν.*[40] And Heliodorus says that the Nile carries annually fresh soil into Egypt, and is therefore so called by the Greeks that is to say, *Νεῖλος* from *Νέη ἰλύς.*[41]

The more alpine district of Abyssinia is of very great altitude, and possesses mountains, as Ras Dejam =15,150, Beroch Waha=14,784, Aba Mikana= 14,760, Aba Jared[42]=14,714, Buahit=14,600, Misarrarya, 14,580, Silki=13,950, and Amba Hay=13,700 feet above the sea-level. All these rise in the province of Samyen. In Tigrè are seen Mount Suera nearly 10,000, Mount Sibat=8900, Mount Likanos= 8840, Mount Zonoda=8760, Mount Waahahazin= 8500 feet above the sea, and others of great height. The province of Lasta is described by Mr. Pearce to

[39] Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. 36: *ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπάγα δ' ἀεὶ νέαν ἰλὺν βρέχει τὴν γῆν.* The accumulation of alluvium and black mud (*ἰλὺς καὶ πηλὸς*) in the valley of the Nile, near Heliopolis and Memphis, has been calculated to be about three inches in one hundred years. This would give six-eighths of an inch (or three-quarters) in twenty-five years. See Sir C. Nicholson's paper 'On the Disk-Worshippers of Memphis,' in Vol. IX. Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. p. 209.

[40] Arrian, Exped. Alexand. lib. v., Lugd. Bat. 1704.

[41] Heliodorus, 'Æthiopica,' lib. ix. edit. Lut. Par. 1619. And Joannes Lydus, in his work 'De Mensibus' (lib. iv. s. 68), under July, records, *Κατὰ τὸν ἐν Λέοντι ἥλιον ἀναχεῖται ὁ Νεῖλος Ἰλὰς ὄνομα τῷ Νείλῳ πρότερον, εἶτα Αἴγυπτος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, εἶτα Χρυσορρόας, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Νεῖλος ἀπὸ βασιλέως οὕτω καλουμένου· τὸ γὰρ δόξαι τοῖς γραμματικοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς νέας ἰλύος ὠνομάσθαι τὸν Νεῖλον πρὸς ἐτυμολογίαν ὁρῷ.* (Corp. Scriptt. Hist. Byzant., Bonnæ, 1837, edit. Bekker.)

[42] Or *Abu Yared* (Father Yared), was so called from a greatly esteemed native of Samyen, who lived 1300 years ago, and is believed to be still living. (Harris, iii. p. 395.)

be "extremely mountainous throughout, and forming an almost impenetrable barrier between the two great districts of Amhara and Tigrè." In it the following are some of the mountains, on whose summits ice and snow are observed. Mount Abuna Yosef=13,780, Mount Ymarah=13,350, Mount Biala=12,480, Mount Gavzigivla=12,470, Mount Ashattan=11,020, Mount Bewa=10,500, Mount Izrael Amba=10,420 above the sea. But Herr Th. von Heuglin has laid down in his large map (1867) in the Galla country, near 11° N. lat. and 39° E. long. from Greenwich, and about half a degree south of Magdala, two mountains, which he makes higher than those in Samyen. One of these, Mount Kollo, he gives above, and the other, Mount Dsimba or Jimba, just about 15,000 Paris feet.[43] And there are many more mountains whose heights have not yet been, even approximately, ascertained.

The more lofty summits of Samyen being considered to be above the line of perpetual congelation in that latitude, retain throughout the year some portion of their snows. This remarkable collection of very lofty peaks—many of which are termed Amba, meaning strictly in the Abyssinian tongue a conical mountain,—was known to the ancient Greek philosophers; for Diodorus Siculus records that Democritus of Abdera said "the mountains in Ethiopia were the highest in the (then known) world,"—*μέχρις ἂν ὅτου προσπέση τοῖς μεγίστοις ὄρεσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἅ φησιν εἶναι περὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν.*[44]

[43] *Vide* 'Reise nach Abessinien,' Jena, 1868.

[44] Diod. Sic. Bib. Hist. lib. i. cap. 39. This is nearly the fact,

And again, the same historian writes of Agatharchides, the Cnidian, (about 107 B.C.), that he expressly says that "in every year constant rains are produced in the mountains of Ethiopia, and last from the summer solstice to the autumnal equinox,"—*φησὶ γὰρ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ὄρεσι γίνεσθαι συνεχεῖς ὄμβρους ἀπὸ θερινῶν τροπῶν μέχρι τῆς μετοπωρινῆς ἰσημερίας* (cap. 41).

So Strabo, speaking of how it was that rain falls in the most southern parts from Meroë in summer and not in winter, and how the Nile is increased by the rains, states that Callisthenes says the cause of it was the summer rains, and that he had received it from Aristotle, who had it from Thrasyalcus, the Thasian. *Φησὶ γαρ Καλλισθένη λέγειν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὄμβρων αἰτίαν τῶν θερινῶν, παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλους λαβόντα· ἐκεῖνον δὲ παρὰ Θρασύαλκου τοῦ θασίου.*[45]

Notwithstanding the doubts of many writers as to the existence of rain in the hot climate of Ethiopia, the geographer Strabo relates that the rains there in summer—chiefly in the highest mountains—had been witnessed, actually seen by some parties (*αὐτόπται*) who had been sent from Egypt into that country by one of the Ptolemies to investigate that and other natural objects.[46]

because Ras Dejam, in Samyen, is only some 500 feet below Mont Blanc, and the higher chain of the Himalayas in India was then scarcely known. So, likewise, the Caucasus and Mount Ararat were undetermined in altitude.

[45] Strabo, Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 1139.

[46] This is Strabo's account:—*Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι στοχασμῷ τὸ πλέον, οἱ δ' ὕστερον αὐτόπται γενηθέντες, ἥσθοντο ὑπὸ ὄμβρων θερινῶν πληρούμενον τὸν Νεῖλον, τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τῆς ἄνω κλυζομένης, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄρεσι· παυσαμένων δὲ τῶν ὄμβρων παυομένην κατ' ὀλίγον τὴν πλημμυρίδα· τοῦτο δ' ὑπῆρξε μάλιστα δῆλον τοῖς πλέουσι τὸν Ἀράβιον Κόλπον μέχρι τοῦ κινναμωμοφόρου, καὶ τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων θήραν, καὶ*

And some two hundred and fifty years ago, the very abundant rains were confirmed as still descending in the hot season upon the mountains of Abyssinia by Lopez, Paez, Lobo, and other Portuguese travellers. Indeed, the summer[47] clouds in that alpine territory do not "drop," but pour out exuberantly their "fatness," and thus carry with their superabundant waters in the summer a large portion of their fertilizing and natural wealth to the more arid regions on the banks of the Nile; and it may be very correctly said,—

ὅτε πλήθοντι ῥεέθρῳ
Νεῖλος ἀπὸ κρημνοῖο κατέρχεται Αἰθιοπῆος.[48]

The author of these lines, the historian-poet Callimachus, who flourished about 260 B.C., was one of the earliest (doubtless receiving it from Callisthenes and Aristotle) to declare the true origin of the Nilotic inundation, viz. that it descended with a copious flood from the precipices of Ethiopia; also, that a great deal of that country which he calls precipitous well deserves that epithet, as is fully testified by other writers, and by our modern travellers.

Pomponius Mela has written, "ex immanibus Æthiopiæ jugis." So Plowden asserts, "the whole of Samyen could be made one vast fortress, so mountainous and precipitous a region is it."[49] And Major

εἴ τινες ἄλλαι χρεῖαι παρώξυνον ἐκεῖσε ἄνδρας προχειρίζεσθαι τοὺς τῆ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέας τοὺς Πτολεμαϊκούς. (Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 1138.)

[47] So Joannes Lydus writes: *περὶ τῆς ἐνθέρει τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιδόσεω* (*κ.τ.λ.*). (Lib. iv. s. 68.)

[48] Callimachus, 'Hymn to Delos,' v. 207. The poet is alluding to the time of year when the Nile is inundated, *i.e.* the summer.

[49] Plowden, 'Travels in Abyssinia,' p. 394. Mr. Markham, describing the mount termed *Amba Ferrah*, says it "is a succession of grand

Harris, describing the lofty eastern chain which runs from north to south, calls it "the Abyssinian Caucasus," which is elevated like a bulwark or an immense natural barrier.

The inundation of the famed Nile has been for ages an interesting problem and subject to the man of science and of literature, to the historian and to the poet; and I therefore need not apologize to the Royal Society of Literature for thus having noticed the Abyssinian sources of this annual phenomenon, and the opinions of many ancient authors concerning it. So, indeed, Diodorus Siculus has justly remarked, "Many philosophers, as well as historians, have endeavoured to declare the causes of the increase of the river Nile," or more exactly in his own words,—*Μεγάλης δ' οὔσης ἀπορίας περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ποταμοῦ (Νείλου) πληρώσεως ἐπικεχειρήκασι πολλοὶ τῶν τε φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἀποδοῦναι τὰς ταύτης αἰτίας.*[50]

precipices,—a glorious mass of rock terminating in angular walls." It is situate in the district of Wajjerat, whose waters run into the Tellare river, and thence into the Teccazze (p. 243). Also he writes, "the bed of the last river is about 7800, and the summit of the Wandaj pass is 10,500 feet above the sea." From that pass, "looking across the Teccazze valley, we got the first view of the Wadela plateau, a mighty wall 2600 feet high, rising abruptly from the valley" (p. 254). He further adds:—"Magdala itself (near the same chain of eastern mountains forming the great watershed) is an isolated flat-topped mountain of columnar basalt with perpendicular sides, more than 9000 feet above the sea" (p. 286). Its streams flow into the Bachilo, and so into the Blue Nile, or *Abaï*.

Opposite to Magdala, Mr. Markham states, "the Dalanta plateau forms a straight wall of columnar basalt, descending 3600 feet to the bed of the Bachilo." (Hist. Abyss. Exped. p. 285.)

I need not give any further examples of Abyssinian precipices (which exist in Samyen and other provinces) to confirm Callimachus's description.

[50] Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. 37.

The map which I have added, where it is coloured green, points out the drainage of the Abyssinian waters to the Nile; where it is red, it signifies that the flow or drainage is to the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden, or the Indian Ocean, to the north and east; on both of these sides very few large streams or rivers, except in the rainy season, occur. Some of these, however, in conclusion, ought to be briefly mentioned.

On the north of Halai, the river Hadas, often dry in places, flowing past the base of the Degonta pass, and proceeding near Zulla, the site of the former Adulis, it reaches the Red Sea at Mulkutto, in Annesley Bay. And nearly parallel to the Hadas, but more to the east, flows the stream, Wadi, or torrent named Nebhaguddy, through the Senafè pass, and it likewise debouches into Annesley Bay. Then at the roots of the lofty Harat Mountains, near Adigerat (8535 feet), a few small rivers or winter torrents —χειμάρζους—take their course; some join the rivers Caballa and Ragolay, others flow into the eastern or salt-plain, where probably they are absorbed or communicate with the lake Alelbad.

So, again, from about 13° 30′ N. lat. to beyond Lake Ashangi (about 12° N. lat.), more of the like streams appear, and proceed into the Azubo Galla plain.

From about 11° 45′ N. lat. many larger streams or rivers flowing from their sources, under the Geshen, Efrata, Gedem, Chakka, and Shoa mountains to beyond Ankobar, to about 9° N. lat., pursue their courses, and become tributaries to the Hawash.

This last is a noble river which receives its sources

in the valleys or slopes of the Fine-Finnie mountains in the Soddo Galla territory; flowing thence through the Fattigar district, it proceeds through a sterile and volcanic[51] region covered with masses of trap, scoriæ, and ashes as a considerable stream, its own banks being edged with fine trees and rich vegetation. After having been joined by its numerous affluents, it follows a north-eastern direction through the province of Adal, and partly loses itself in the burning desert, and partly (as is supposed) flows into the large Lake of Aussa. It seems, however, to be well ascertained that it does not reach the Gulf of Tajurrah, or the Indian Ocean.

[51] Major Harris (iii. p. 265), says, "Existing craters still resume at long intervals their old work of devastation, and violent earthquakes now and then shake the country" to its very base. In the year 1854, great volcanic disturbances took place in Eastern Abyssinia.

ON THE SNOWS, RAINS, AND THERMAL SPRINGS OF ABYSSINIA.

BY JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S., VICE-PRESIDENT.

(Read November 18th, 1868.)

In the evening of the 20th of November last year, I read a short Paper, "On the Abyssinian Rivers which give rise to the Nilotic Inundation," at the meeting of the Royal Society of Literature. In it I pointed out, from a small map of Abyssinia, constructed and coloured by myself, the chief rivers and water-system of that country, viz. those which, flowing to the W. and N.W., become the primary cause of the inundation of the Nile, and likewise the other rivers which descend from the Abyssinian Alps and highlands, and proceed to the N. and E. into the Red Sea, or into the Gulf of Aden or the Indian Ocean.

Since then it has become a question of much interest to me, whether or not the snows, which are stated to lie or fall throughout the year upon the alpine summits in the centre of Abyssinia, contribute by their partial melting to the rising of the waters of the Nile. It will be remembered that

Herodotus, about 447 B.C., observes that the Nile does not flow from the melted snow of Ethiopia, as was reported, *φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος* (Euterpe, cap. 22), and he seems to deny even the existence of snow in that warmer region; he adds, *οὐδὲ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν.*[1]

But on referring to the second famous Adulitan inscription, probably near to (or soon after) the time of Augustus, which was copied by Cosmas Indopleustes about A.D. 525, the snow in Ethiopia is distinctly mentioned as existing throughout the year. I have referred to the transcript B (no. 5127), as published by Böckh (or his editor Franz) in vol. iii. of the Corp. Inscript. Græc., and I find this account to be there given. After naming several tribes, the inscription mentions the *Samine* (*Σαμινὲ*) nation as dwelling in the very steep and snow-covered mountains, in which there are continually snow-storms and frosts, and snows as deep as a man's knees. *Καὶ Σαμινὲ ἔθνος πέραν τοῦ Νείλου ἐν δυσβάτοις καὶ χιονώδεσιν ὄρεσιν οἰκοῦντας, ἐν οἷς διὰ παντὸς νιφετοὶ καὶ κρύη καὶ χιόνες βαθεῖαι, ὡς μέχρι γονάτων καταδύνειν ἄνδρα.*[2]

I will now briefly show that frost and snow still continue, more or less in quantity, on the alpine range of Abyssinia — *διὰ παντὸς* — perpetually, or throughout the whole year.

The highest summits of these Alps are situate nearly in the centre of Abyssinia—though somewhat more on its eastern side,—in a province to this day

[1] So Arrian (Hist. Ind. vi.) states, *ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ χιονόβατα εἴη ἂν τὰ Αἰθιόπων ὄρεα ὑπὸ καύματος.*

[2] See p. 512, vol. iii. Boeckhii Corp. Inscript. Græc., ed. Franzius. This text is given in the "Additional Notes" at the end of this memoir.

called *Samen*, or *Semyen*, which is swept round on the south by the river Minna, or Bellegas, and on the east and north by the Teccazze, or Atbara. Two of the alpine summits, the *Abba Jared* and *Ras Dedjem* in that range, exceed 15,000 feet in altitude above the sea. These Alps nearly correspond in height with Mont Blanc, which is given at 15,784 feet. The line of perpetual snow is taken in the Swiss Alps at 8000 feet; but, in the hotter intertropical latitude of these Abyssinian Alps, it rises to about 13,500 feet. Again, the following extract from the French 'Voyage en Abyssinie,' by MM. Galinier et Ferret, tome ii. p. 291 (Paris, 1847), proves that snow lies perpetually on the upper parts of Ras Dedjem. These travellers, speaking of the snow, say, "Il y en a constamment sur le Detjem, ainsi que nous l'avons observé, tantôt sur le versant méridional, tantôt sur le versant opposé, et cela suivant les saisons. Le sommet de cette montagne affleure dans la zone de la congélation perpétuelle." They further record their estimate of perpetual snow in that lofty mountain, in the dry season, at 4400 metres, but in the rainy season at 3500 metres above the sea-level.

Also, the more recent but unfortunate traveller, Mr. H. Dufton, confirms the presence of deep snow on the same alpine range. "My sight," he writes ('Abyssinia,' p. 196), "was delighted by frequent views of the summits of the Simyen mountains, thickly covered with snow. As this was the month of April, one of the hottest, I can easily believe that some of these mountains are never free, but are within the region of perpetual winter. They are the

highest in Abyssinia, attaining an elevation of 15,000 feet in Aboo Yared (Abba Jared), the loftiest peak."

Humboldt says, "The Abyssinian mountains rise from 10,000 to nearly 15,000 (Paris) feet, as we learn from exact measurements. Rüppell,[3] who ranks amongst the most accurate observers of the day, found Abba Jarat (Abba Jared, Abu Jaret, or Aboo Yared) in 13° 20′ N. lat., only 70 feet below the elevation of Mont Blanc:"[4] while his plates, in his 'Reise,' are considered as very faithful representations of the scenery in the Abyssinian "Alps, in regions where perpetual snow is found almost under the Line."[5] (See opposite plate I.)

Again Mr. Pearce, while proceeding over the Samyen Alps, encountered very severe snow-storms:[6] and Mr. Plowden ('Travels in Abyssinia,' p. 395), speaking of Samen as "a Switzerland in miniature" (p. 379), states that "Bauheet (or Bauhat, or Buahit), whose top being nearly 14,800 feet above the sea-level, was covered with hail and frost and with blocks of ice in the caves and places sheltered from the sun."

Mr. H. Salt, travelling in Abyssinia[7] early in this century, writes:—"This morning (April 8), the atmosphere proving extremely clear, we could, for the first time, plainly distinguish the snow (called by the Abyssinians Berrit) on the top of Béyeda and Amba Hai (13,700 feet), the two loftiest summits of the mountains of Samen. Mr. Bruce, having passed over only a lower ridge called Lamalmon (about 9800

[3] 'Reise in Abyssinien,' vol. i. p. 414; vol. ii. p. 443.

[4] 'Views of Nature,' ed. Bohn, p. 118.

[5] 'On Rüppell's Travels in Abyssinia,' vol. x. p. 571. (Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.)

[6] See Blue-book, p. 46.

[7] 'Voyage to Abyssinia,' p. 350; London, 1814.

feet), did not believe the fact of snow having been ever seen on these mountains,[8] though it is noticed in the very earliest account of the country, in the Adulic inscription given by Cosmas, and subsequently by several of the best informed among the Jesuits who travelled in Abyssinia." I may add that though Mr. Salt found the thermometer to be 95° in the valley of the Teccazze in the month of May, he correctly considered it to be below freezing, or under 32° of Fahrenheit on the mountains of Samen.

MM. Combes and Tamisier[9] say, of that alpine region, "it is the highest land in Abyssinia; its mountains are almost continually covered with snow on their highest tops:" they add of the district called Lasta, more to the south-east, that "it is very mountainous, and entire armies have been known to perish there of snow."[10] Of Samen, they state that it "is the highest country in Abyssinia; its mountains are almost always

[8] "*Vide* vol. iii. p. 313. From the following expression, made use of by Mr. Bruce in another part of his work, it appears that he (like Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Seneca) did not believe in the possibility of so light a substance lying on the top of a mountain under the tropics. 'It is said that snow has been seen to lie on the mountains of Caffa, etc., but this I do not believe. Hail has probably been seen to lie there, but I doubt much whether this can be said of a substance of so loose a texture as snow.' (Bruce's 'Travels,' vol. iii. p. 329.)" But the presence of hail, even in the middle of July (1841) on the Shoan Alps, in the south of Abyssinia, is thus related by Major Harris:—"The soaring peaks of the most remote range threw their hoary heads, sparkling with a white mantle of hail, far into the cold azure sky." ('Highlands of Ethiopia,' vol. i. p. 323.)

[9] 'Voyage en Abyssinie,' par MM. Combes et Tamisier, in the years 1835–37.

[10] Parliamentary Blue-book, 'Routes in Abyssinia,' 1867, pp. 5 and 188.

covered with snow on their highest points, and ice is well known."

These alpine tracts extend for about eighty miles from north to south. In fact, Samen may be considered nearly the ὀμφαλὸς γῆς, or centre of Abyssinia, and as such, forming the most imposing and grandest features in that magnificent portion of the ancient Ethiopia. The distinguished German traveller, Dr. Rüppell,[11] gave to Abba Jared summit, the reputed highest point in Semien (as he writes it), above 15,000 (Paris) feet in altitude from the level of the Red Sea. Mr. Pearce, on October 18, 1807, passed over the summit of Amba Hai, in Samen, about 14,000 feet, and had a heavy snowstorm, descending in large flakes like feathers; and, on October 1st, in the same year, the same traveller, in another part of Abyssinia,—at Dafat, on a high mountain in Lasta,—states, "The cold was there intense, and an hoar-frost lay upon the ground."[12] Many years later, Bishop Gobat records, that on March 18, 1830, he ascended the mountain of Silqui (or Silki) in Samyen, when its highest peak was covered with snow; and adds, of the neighbouring Mount Bouahat, that "its summit is almost always covered with snow."[13] Indeed, Dr. Rüppell observed on the Samyen mountains freshly fallen snow in the month of July.

It appears, therefore, that the statement of perpetual snows on the lofty basaltic Alps in the Samyen territory, as related in the Adulitan inscription, is correct; and, although the melting of snow at the season of the periodic rains, in June and July, may

[11] See 'Monatsberichte,' part 2. [12] Blue-book, p. 45.
[13] 'Journal of Residence in Abyssinia,' by S. Gobat, 1834, pp. 66, 68.

not very materially affect the filling of the Teccazze, or Atbara, yet the melted snow doubtless, in ordinary seasons, increases the mass of water brought down by the rushing torrents in that river, as is vividly related by Sir S. Baker.[14]

Herodotus, Callisthenes, Diodorus Siculus, Seneca, and Bruce were therefore wrong in their denial of the existence of snow in the hot country of Abyssinia; while Humboldt has pointed out that this Adulitan (second) inscription "affords the most ancient record in antiquity of snow within the tropics;"[15] an observation to be restricted to historical records, for some of the Greek poets—as Æschylus and Euripides—have mentioned, at a still earlier date, the snows of Abyssinia, or, rather, of a portion of the ancient Ethiopia, and have suggested that, by their melting, the annual flood of the Nile is caused, or, at all events, increased.

I will now briefly consider some passages from these Greek poetical writers.

The first of them is Æschylus. This venerable poet, writing (about B.C. 480) before the time of the historian-traveller, Herodotus, and alluding to the Nile in the Ethiopian country, correctly speaks of the "fiery sun" as melting the πετραίαν χιόνα,—the frozen or mountain snow,—which, with an abundance of rain, renders Egypt so fertile in corn.

The following verses are from the fragment of the tragedy, 'Æthiops,' as cited by Athenæus in his 'Deipnosophistæ,' and assigned by him to Æschylus.

[14] Baker's 'Nile and its Tributaries,' p. 53.

[15] Humboldt, 'Asie Centrale,' tome iii. p. 235, and 'Views of Nature,' (ed. Bohn) p. 118.

They are thus given in Schweighæuser's edition (vol. i. p. 280; Argent. 1801):—

Γένος μὲν αἰνεῖν ἐκμαθὼν ἐπίσταμαι
Αἰθιωπίδος γῆς· ἔνθα Νεῖλος ἑπτάῤῥους
γαῖαν κυλίνδει πνευμάτων ἐπομβρίᾳ
ἐν ᾗ πυρωπὸς ἥλιος ἐκλάμψας χθονὶ
τήκει πετραίαν χιόνα· πᾶσα δ' εὐθαλὴς
Αἴγυπτος, ἁγνοῦ νάματος πληρουμένη,
φερέσβιον Δήμητρος ἀντέλλει στάχυν.

The same fragmentary lines are less accurately published in the earlier but beautiful edition of Æschylus, by Stanley, as follows:—

Γένος μὲν αἰνεῖν καὶ μαθὼν ἐπίσταμαι
Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἔνθα Νεῖλος ἑπτάῤῥους
Γαῖαν κυλίνδων ῥευμάτων ἐπομβρίαις,
Εν ᾗ πυρωπὸν μηνὸς ἐκλάμψαι φλόγα.
Αἴγυπτος ἁγνοῦ νάματος πληρουμένη
Τήκει πετρίαν χιόνα· πᾶσα δ' εὐθαλὴς
Φερέσβιον Δήμητρος ἀγγέλει στάχυν.

It will be seen that these verses present many differences from the former copy, as quoted in Athenæus; one of the principal is, that the fifth verse there is clearly misplaced, it being more correctly placed as the sixth in Schweighæuser's carefully edited work.

In Van Pauw's edition, the words *πυρωπὸν μηνὸς*, in the fourth verse, evidently relate to the Dog-star, since, at its rising after the summer solstice, June 21st, the inundation of the Nile was considered to

commence.[16] Thus Athenæus states, *κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Κυνὸς ἀνατολὰς*;[17] while Lucan adds,[18]—

> "Nilus neque suscitat undas
> Ante Canis radios."

Again, Æschylus alludes to the snow-fed, all fertile grove or Wadi (Nile, or river *Egypt*), in these words of the 'Supplices,' v. 567:—

> *Δῖον πάμβοτον ἄλσος,*
> *Λειμῶνα χιονόβοσκον.*

The scholiast to this passage interprets the words, *πάμβοτον ἄλσος*, as *τὸν Αἴγυπτον*—Egypt,—saying of *χιονόβοσκον*,—*φασὶ γὰρ λυομένης χιόνος παρὰ Ἰνδοῖς πληροῦσθαι αὐτὸν*. Several ancient writers considered the further and inner parts of Ethiopia, or Africa, as being "India."

I may observe that Homer does not use the word "Nilus," but "Ægyptus" (*ὁ Αἴγυπτος ποταμὸς*)[19]; and according to Apollonius of Rhodes (B.C. 200), *Triton*[20] was another ancient name for it. Thus that poet sings:—

> *Μήτηρ Αἴγυπτος προτερηγενέων αἰζηῶν,*
> *Καὶ ποταμὸς Τρίτων*[21] *καλλίῤῥοος, ᾧ ὑπὸ πᾶσα*
> *Ἄρδεται ἠερίη. Διόθεν δέ μιν, οὔποτε δεύει*
> *Ὄμβρος ἅλις, προχοαῖσι δ' ἀνασταχύουσιν ἄρουραι.*[22]

[16] Compare Baker's 'Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia,' p. 51.

[17] Athenæi Deipn. lib. ii. Epit. 89. [18] Pharsal. lib. x. verse 225.

[19] So Arrian says:—*ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν ἐπώνυμον τῆς Αἰγύπτου Αἴγυπτον*. (Exped. Alexand. lib. v.)

[20] So Pliny says: "*Nilus* nominatus in totum Homero *Ægyptus*, aliisque *Triton*." (Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. ix.)

[21] The scholiast on (v. 269) *ποταμὸς Τρίτων* thus explains the name of that river:—*Ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος οὕτω τὸ πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο, Τρίτων· μετωνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ Νείλου τοῦ Κύκλωπος, τοῦ Ταντάλου, βασιλεύσαντος τῆς χώρας, ὡς Ἕρμιππος φησίν.* [22] Apoll. Rhod. Argonaut. lib. iv. v. 268.

The word "Nile," I think, occurs for the first time in the original text of Numbers xxxiv. 5, and of the Book of Joshua xv. 4, about B.C. 1450; it is נחל, *Nhel*, Nehel, or Nile. In our translation of the Old Testament it is rendered the "river of Egypt;" in both Greek versions, *φάραγξ Αἰγύπτου*, the *Wadi*, or "Valley of Egypt." By the Arabs it is called *Bahr e' Neel.*

Hesiod, the first classical author who calls it *Νεῖλος* (Theog. v. 338), enumerates it among the large "vortiginous rivers," *ποταμοὺς δινήεντας.* Æschylus uses *Nilus*, as does Hecatæus[23] about B.C. 520; and Heliodorus asserts that "The Nile, *Νεῖλος*, was so called by the Greeks, because it carries new soil (silt) every year into Egypt:" *νέαν ἰλὺν δ' ἔτους ἐπάγοντα*,[24] an idea copied from him by Diodorus Siculus in the words *ἐπάγων δ' ἀεὶ νέαν ἰλὺν βρέχει τὴν γῆν.*[25]

Moreover, Heliodorus writes, the people of Syene called the Nile "*Horus*," *Ὥρος.* The name *Νεῖλος* confirms that appellation, because the numerals, which make up its name, come to 365 units, or the number of days in a year; thus, ν'=50, ε'=5, ι'=10, λ'=30, ο'=70, σ'=200,=365. *Τῶν γοῦν κατα τοὔνομα στοιχείων εἰς ψήφους μεταλαμβανομένων, πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιαι μονάδες, ὅσαι καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἡμέραι συναχθήσονται.* (Lib. ix.).

Among other ancient names for the Nile, or for a part of it, are *Sihor* in (1 Chron. xiii. 5); *Siris*, in Dionysius and Pliny; *Melas*,[26] in Thrasyllus of

[23] *Vide* Fragm. Hist. Græc. à C. Müllero, vol. ii. p. 389.

[24] Heliodor. Æthiopica, lib. ix.

[25] Diod. Sic. lib. i. cap. 36.

[26] *Νεῖλος ποταμὸς . . . . ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ πρότερον Μέλας.* (Fragm. Hist. Græc. ed. Müller, vol. iii. p. 502.)

Mendes; *Geon*,[27] in Josephus; and *Ilas* and *Chrysorrhoas*, in Johannes Lydus.

Again, the philosopher Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ (about B.C. 445),—as recorded by Diodorus Siculus (lib. i. cap. 38),—held that the melted snow in Ethiopia was the cause of the rising of the Nile. He says, *'Αναξαγόρας δ' ὁ φυσικὸς ἀπεφήνατο τῆς ἀναβάσεως αἰτίαν εἶναι τὴν τηκομένην χιόνα κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν*; a view in which he was followed by Euripides:—

Νείλου λιπὼν κάλλιστον ἐκ γαίας ὕδωρ,
Ὃς ἐκ μελαμβρότοιο πληροῦται ῥοὰς
Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἡνίκ' ἂν τακῇ χιών.

In like manner, speaks Athenæus (lib. ii. Epit. 88), long afterwards, quoting from the same tragic poet the same passage, though somewhat varied, from his play of 'Archelaus;' as follows:—

Δάναος ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατὴρ,
Νείλου λιπὼν κάλλιστον ἐκ γαίας ὕδωρ,
Ὃς ἐκ μελαμβρότοιο πληροῦται θερει
Αἰθιωπίδος γῆς, ἡνίκ' ἂν τακῇ χιὼν,
Τεθριππεύοντος ἡλίου κατὰ χθόνα.

Euripides also begins his tragedy of 'Helena' in these words:—

Νείλου μὲν αἵδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαὶ,
Ὃς ἀντὶ δίας ψεκάδος, Αἰγύπτου πέδον,
Λευκῆς τακείσης χιόνος, ὑγραίνει γύας.

That is to say, the streams of the Nile arise from the

[27] Josephus explains that *Geon* signifies "rising to us (Jews) from the East," which the Greeks call *Nile*. *Γηὼν δὲ, διὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ῥέων, δηλοῖ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἀναδιδόμενον ἡμῖν· ὃν δὴ Νεῖλον Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύουσιν.* (Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. i. cap. i. s. 3.)

melted white snow, instead of from the heavenly drops like dew.

Athenæus then states that Callisthenes, the historian, and pupil of Aristotle, who died B.C. 325, denied the snows of Ethiopia, and relied on the rains in that region, as the origin of the inundation.

Afterwards, in the second century before Christ, Agatharchides held the same opinion; and, at a much later period, about A.D. 20, in the reign of Augustus, the geographer Strabo entertained a similar view; for he distinctly relates that the rains commence the filling of the Nile,—*τὴν πλήρωσιν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὄμβρους παρασκευάζειν*: and in the collections, or 'Chrestomatheiæ ex Strabonis Geographia,' we read that "the Nile is flooded by the showers of rain in Ethiopia;" *ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ ὄμβρων πληθύει ὁ Νεῖλος ποταμός.*[28]

Diodorus (B.C. 44) has written very strongly against the possibility of snow falling in Ethiopia; and has stated that, throughout that region, there is neither ice nor cold, nor any indication whatever of winter, especially at the period of the overflowing of the Nile. I here add his own words, as they are of great interest, and show how incorrect his statement is as regards the alpine range of Abyssinia. *Ὅτι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν καυμάτων ἀδύνατον χιόνα πίπτειν περὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν. Καθόλου γὰρ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους οὔτε πάγος, οὔτε ψῦχος, οὔθ' ὅλως χειμῶνος ἔμφασις γίνεται, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ Νείλου· εἰδὲ τις καὶ συγχωρήσαι χιόνος εἶναι πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Αἰθιοπίαν τόποις, ὅμως ἐλέγχεται τὸ ψεῦδος τῆς ἀποφάσεως.*[29]

[28] Geographiæ Veteris Script. Græc. Minor., ed. Hudson, vol. ii. Oxon. 1703), lib. xvii. p. 216.

[29] Diod. Sic. Hist. lib. i. cap. 38.

This generally correct historian, perhaps relying on Herodotus, having thus denied the existence of snow, would necessarily consider that the increase of the waters of the Nile in that country arose from the heavy fall of periodical rain.

Herein the poet Lucan appears to agree with those two historians, for he says:—

> "Vana fides veterum, Nilo, quo crescat in arva,
> Æthiopum prodesse nives."[30]

And Homer, the most ancient author here referred to, probably considered that the Nile, or 'River Egypt,' as he calls it, was swollen or flooded by the rains, for so his epithet διϊπετὴς is usually taken to signify; and the scholiast on διϊπετέος ἠοταμοῖο (v. 284; Hom. Odyss. lib. vii.) thus interprets them:—τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Διὸς ὄμβρων πληρουμένου ποταμοῦ. But διϊπετὴς, strictly meaning "qui cœlitus decidit," that 'which falls from heaven,' may be dew, rain, sleet, snow, and hail, or one or more of these celestial products. The words, Αἰγύπτοιο διϊπετέος ποταμοῖο, occur twice in the same book (fourth) of the 'Odyssey' (v. 477 and v. 581). And this word, διϊπετέος, I may remark, is nearly parallel to the expression δίας ψεκάδος, before cited from Euripides, and to that of Διόθεν δεύει, used by Apollonius Rhodius (Argon. iv. 270).

On the other hand, it would seem that Pomponius Mela, about the middle of the first century of the Christian era, writing of the Nile, says, "Crescit porro, sive quod solutæ magnis æstibus nives, ex immanibus Æthiopiæ jugis, largius, quam ripis accipi

[30] Pharsal. lib. x. v. 219.

queant, defluunt; . . . . sive quod per ea tempora flantes Etesiæ, aut actas a septembrione in meridiem nubes super principia ejus imbre præcipitant."[31] Also the Roman naturalist appears equally doubtful whether the snows or rains, as in Mauritania, caused the increase of the Nile. He writes, "Præterea observatum est, prout in Mauritaniâ nives imbresve satiaverint, ita Nilum increscere."[32]

And Solinus, copying this passage, uses more distinctly the particle *aut* disjunctively, thus:—"Ac si quando Mauretania, unde origo ejus (Nili) est, aut nivibus densioribus, aut imbribus largioribus inrigatur."[33]

But the note on "nives imbresve," in the Variorum edition of Pliny (London, Valpy; vol. vii. p. 5047), thus explains the reading:—"Id est, prout in Mauritaniâ imbres nivesque abundaverint et eum impleverint."

In order to explain these passages of Pliny and Solinus, it must be remembered that the Nile was, in the age of Pliny, erroneously supposed to take its rise in Mauritania; thence, proceeding towards the east, to disappear in the sand of the desert; and then to return again, first under the name of Niger, and secondly, near a vast lake as the true and large Nile.

Nearly contemporary with those two writers, the philosopher Seneca, in his 'Questions on Nature,' produces the following argumentative statements respecting the snows and rains of Ethiopia, and their effects on the Nile-flood:—"Anaxagoras ait ex Æthiopiæ jugis solutas nives ad Nilum usque decurrere. In

[31] Pomp. Mela, de Situ Orb. lib. i. cap. 9.
[32] Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 10.
[33] Solinus, Collect. Rer. Memor.

eâdem opinione omnis vetustas[34] fuit. Hoc Æschylus, Sophocles,[35] Euripides tradunt. Sed falsum esse argumentis plurimis patet. Primo Æthiopiam ferventissimam esse, indicat hominum[36] adustus color .... Quemadmodum ergo regio tantis subjecta fervoribus duraturas per totam æstatem nives recipit? .... Præterea, si hæc causa attolleret Nilum, æstate primâ plenissimus flueret, tunc enim maximæ et integræ adhuc nives, ex mollissimoque tabes est .... Œnipodes Chius ait .... (hieme) Nilum, quia nullo imbre adjuvetur, tenuari, deinde crescere per æstatem,[37] quo tempore .... redit rigor fontibus. Quod si verum esset, æstate flumina crescerent, omnesque putei æstate abundarent."[38]

Of late years travellers in Ethiopia, or at least in that part now called Abyssinia, amply testify to the truth of this statement of Herodotus and Œnipodes of Chios, namely, that the Nile in winter[39] is lessened

[34] But Seneca has not mentioned the contrary opinion of Herodotus (Euterpe, cap. 22), and this sentence of his, "Quemadmodum ergo regio tantis subjecta fervoribus duraturas per totam æstatem nives recipit?" calls to mind the similar question of Herodotus, *κῶς ὦν δῆτα ῥέοι ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμοτάτων τόπων ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα*;

[35] Seneca not having quoted the lines of Sophocles in favour of the melted Ethiopian snows, they are now unfortunately lost.

[36] So Herodotus: *οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος μέλανες ἐόντες.* (Euterpe, c. 22.) Also Euripides, in the fragment of Archelaus before cited, speaks of—

Νεῖλος
ὃς ἐκ μελαμβρότοιο πληροῦται θέρει
Αἰθιωπίδος γῆς.

[37] And Herodotus's opinion thus coincides:—*φράσω διότι μοι δοκέει πληθύεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος· τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥρην, κ. τ. λ.*, it is reduced.

[38] Seneca, Nat. Quæst. lib. iv. cap. i.

[39] Mr. Markham says (p. 71, 'Abyssinian Expedition') only "a sorry sprinkling along the coast during the winter and spring months is got from the Red Sea."

in the volume of its water, because no rain—save a few slight showers—then falls; but that, in early summer, it is increased, while all the streams and fountains are filled, chiefly with the rains, which then descend most copiously; and, doubtless, these enlarged waters are in part also aided by the melted snows from the highest mountain-tops of that region.

The words of Seneca, "Nilus æstate primâ plenissimus fluit;" should be remembered as singularly correct, and as determining the *period* in Abyssinia for the commencing floods and the swelling tributaries (principally the Blue (*Astapus*) and Black (*Astaboras*) Niles) of the White, or true Nile. But unfortunately this last philosopher denies, or at least doubts, the increase of the Abyssinian waters in the summer season; whereas the periodical rains in Abyssinia begin about the 23rd of June, according to Sir S. Baker.[40]

Still later, in the second or third century of our era (about A.D. 208), Agathemerus, in a short 'Compendium of Geography,' gives this description of the river Nile, in which he properly refers its annual increase rather to the periodic showers of *rain* in summer, than

[40] See Baker's graphic description of the river Atbara's (*Astaboras*, or El Aswat) suddenly descending flood, and "rushing of mighty waters" (Isaiah xvii. 12). ('Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia,' pp. 51–53.) Also, at p. x., Preface, this recent explorer says, "The Abyssinian rivers cause the inundation" of the Nile. But the great periodical rains cannot be supposed always to begin at Midsummer, as Sir S. Baker describes they did in June, 1861, when he was there. In some years they commence in May; and MM. Galinier et Ferret mention, on May 15, 1842, "la saison des pluies, qui était déjà commencée." Perhaps in certain other parts of Abyssinia, as in the Koheito mountains, near the Sooroo defile, early spring rains occur for a short time, and before the regular summer rains begin. (Markham, Abyss. Expedit. p. 385.)

to snow :—*Ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύῃ μέγιστός ἐστιν ὁ Νεῖλος. Ὁρμώμενος γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ὑπερ τὸν Ισημερινὸν ἐν βάθει τῆς μεσημβρίας τόπων, ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλασσαν . . . . Ὡς πιθανὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θέρος ὄμβρων, ἥπερ ἀπὸ χιόνος σύστασιν τὴν πορείαν ἐναυσίῳ χρόνῳ ποιεῖσθαι*:[41] an opinion in which Athenæus agrees, where he says, *ὑδάτων πολλῶν καὶ λαμπρῶν γινομένων κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν.*[42]

Ammianus Marcellinus, towards the close of the fourth century after Christ, writing of the snows, which some physicists consider the cause of the inundation, then says (of others), "Ex Æthiopicis imbribus, qui abundantes in tractibus illis per æstus torridos cadere memorantur, exundationes ejus erigi anni temporibus asserunt alii præstitutis: quod utrumque dissonare videtur à veritate. Imbres enim apud Æthiopas, aut non unquam, aut per intervalla temporum longa cadere memorantur."[43]

Now, instead of asserting that both those suppositions were inconsistent with the truth, he should have justly said, that both causes tend (though not equally) to produce the Nilotic floods, in the summer season. It is now proved that abundant rains do fall in Abyssinia every year, although "per intervalla temporum longa," after an interval of about nine months; for Mr. Markham states that "from June to September, Abyssinia gets her rainy season."[44]

But Lucretius, speaking about four hundred and forty years before Ammianus Marcellinus, of the Nile,

[41] Geograph. Vet. Script. Græc. Min. vol. ii. lib. ii. cap. 10.
[42] Athenæi lib. ii. Epit. 89.
[43] Ammian. Marcell. Rer. Gest. lib. xxii.
[44] Markham, 'Abyssinian Expedition,' p. 171.

more carefully attributes that river's increase, possibly to rains near its source, and possibly to the melting snows—"ningues"—from the lofty mountains of Abyssinia. Here are his verses:—[45]

"Fit quoque, uti pluviæ forsan magis ad caput ejus
Tempore eo fiant, quo Etesia flabra Aquilonum
Nubila conjiciunt in eas tunc omnia partes."

And, again,—

"Forsit et Æthiopum penitus de montibus altis
Crescat, ubi in campos albas descendere ningues
Tabificis subigit radiis sol omnia lustrans."

And Claudian in the fifth century of our era, writing about the winter season and the Nile, has:—[46]

"Glacie non ille solutâ,
Nec circumfuso scopulis exuberat imbre;"

which would seem to imply that in the summer, both melted ice or snow, as well as showers of rain, were the causes of its exuberance or overflowing.

Another Latin poet, Statius, (A.D. 90) evidently assigns the cause of the Nile-flood only to the melting snows, thus:—

"Sic ubi se magnis refluus suppressit in antris
Nilus, et Eoæ liquentia pabula brumæ
Ore premit, fumant desertæ gurgite valles."[47]

This flooding of the true Nile by very copious and periodical rains—*ἐκ τῶν ὄμβρων πληθύει ὁ Νεῖλος*—is fully confirmed in an old and curious work, entitled 'Relatione del Reame di Congo, di Odoardo Lopez,' written by Filippo Pigafetta, and published at Rome

[45] Lucretii De Rer. Nat. lib. vi. vv. 729–35.
[46] Claudian, Eidyll. 47, v. 25. [47] Statius, Theb. lib. iv. v. 705.

in 1591; in it I have found a narration of the "chi cause" of the filling of the Nile by very violent rain and which, as it is of much interest, I have thus tran lated from the original Italian:—

"The chief cause of the increase of the Nile the great quantity of water that falls from heaven the time when the spring commenceth in those re gions, which is, speaking generally, about the begin ning of April. This rain does not fall as it does i these countries of Europe, but it falls so abundantl and descends as it were by buckets, not in little drop that falling with such violence and quantity the lan cannot dry it up nor drink it in. For the groun being mountainous and sloping, it runneth with im petuosity into the rivers, and makes them to swell i a surprising manner and to overflow. The rains con tinue chiefly for five whole moons, namely, in Apri May, June, July, and August; but principally i May, June, and July, wherein descends the greates force of water. The country being very mountain ous, and with extremely high hills, and consequentl furnished with various torrents and rivulets and lake they all proceeding to meet together in the beds o the larger rivers, make them so vast that they con vey more water than all the other rivers of the un verse; and the lakes become so full and wide that i is wonderful to see them. Consequently these lake are so immense in size, that, in the languages of thos countries, they are termed *seas*.

"Thus it may be seen that the river Nile, at th before-named times, runs most impetuously fron those regions into the north to inundate Egypt.

"And it is seen in every year, and chiefly in Cairo

and indeed in all Egypt, that the Nile commences to increase about the end of June, and continues to rise until the 20th of September, as Signor Lopez himself had seen.

"But the cause of this increase has remained very obscure till the present time, and although the ancients have recorded in their writings, as Homer had first done (Odyss. iv. vv. 477, 581), that the Nile increases by the rains, still they have not so clearly testified the fact as Signor Lopez has now stated from his own personal knowledge.

"Moreover, some assigned as the cause of the inundation, the rains that fall on the Mountains of the Moon; whilst others attribute it to the snows that melt in those mountains."[48]

To me, then, duly examining all these different accounts, it seems satisfactorily proved that the cause of the Nilotic inundation is principally the periodical rains which pour down in Abyssinia, and in the equatorial districts of Africa; and that these are in some degree also increased and added to by the melted snow and hail which have fallen upon the alpine region of Abyssinia, and possibly likewise on the more lofty (about 20,000 feet) and snow-covered summits of the more southern Kenia.

In this interpretation I use the following words of Pliny, slightly altered, "Præterea observatum est, prout in Mauritaniâ nives imbresque satiaverint, ita Nilum increscere."

But concluding that such are the causes of the abundant floods which swell the Nile, still may I cor-

[48] See "Additional Notes" at the end, for an account of Edward Lopez's narrative.

rectly add, that even at this day, no one has ever yet looked upon the fountains or *real sources*—*τὰς πηγὰς*—or "origines fontium" of that ancient and very famous river; and that the following words of the Sicilian historian, written some forty years before Christ, are even *now true*, as well as strictly applicable:—*Τὰς δὲ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐξ οὗ λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ῥεύματος, ἑωρακέναι μὲν μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένων οὐδεὶς εἴρηκειν.*[49]

The same view was taken by many writers of antiquity, as for instance by Tibullus,[50] Lucan,[51] Pliny,[52] Ammianus,[53] and Claudian.[54]

I will now briefly consider some of the *thermal springs* of Abyssinia, and their situations.

In the same *second* Adulitan inscription of Cosmas Indopleustes, the victorious king proceeds to describe, among the conquered nations, the "Gabala as dwelling at the mountains, which bubble out and overflow with *hot waters*," *ἔπειτα . . . . καὶ Γαβαλὰ οἰκοῦντας παρ' ὄρεσι θερμῶν ὑδάτων βλύζουσι καὶ καταῤῥύτοις.*[55]

Springs of naturally hot waters principally occur in volcanic countries, and we know that a great portion of south-eastern and eastern Abyssinia has been affected by igneous and eruptive forces, traces of which are very apparent in the territory of the Azubo Gallas, and in that lower and more extensive region leading from Ankobar to the depressed lake of Assal: we should, therefore, expect to discover thermal waters in more than one locality. Now, the

[49] Diod. Sic. Hist. lib. i. cap. 37. [50] Tibulli lib. i. Eleg. 7, v. 23.
[51] Lucan, Pharsal. lib. x. v. 295.
[52] Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 9.
[53] Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii. [54] Claudian, Eidyll. 47, 4, 11.
[55] Böckh, Corp. Inscript. Græc. vol. iii. p. 512, no. 5127. B.

whole of the district near the large river Hawash, between 9° 15′ and 11° N. lat., and 40°–42° E. long., is thickly dotted with but recently extinct volcanic cones, with deposits of sulphur and black basaltic *débris*, lava, and scoriæ. These geological phenomena are well represented in some of Mr. Kirk's coloured drawings, taken by him whilst on his route from Tajurrah to Ankobar, in the south of Abyssinia, and are now in the Library of the Royal Geographical Society. Among these I noticed one representing a spring of *hot water* issuing out by a spout from the side of a cliff. It is intituled, "Thermal Spring called *Aboo*, temperature 120°, at Telumbo Gidem." (See opposite, plate 11.)

This spring is evidently the same as that named by Dr. Beke *St. Abbo;* here, and likewise at a second thermal spring (of the Holy Virgin), that traveller says,[56] "The water of both springs is so hot, that it cannot be borne comfortably at the first moment." Beke writes the name of the place Felamba, meaning "boiling mountain."

The exact position of these springs is in the province of Gedem,—signifying "a wilderness,"—at the foot of Mount Amba, and an elevation of 4921 feet. The temperature of the water appears to be about the same as that of the hot waters in our City of Bath. A fuller account, however, is given of *four* of these celebrated springs by Major Harris, who visited them during his residence in Shoa. He describes these hot wells as (five in number?) rising at some distance from each other, the remnants of old vol-

[56] See Dr. Beke's "Notes on a Journey from Ankobar to Gedem in Shoa," 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xii. p. 93.

canic action. Aragawi,[57] the most famous, is named from a Greek missionary in the fifth century, who converted the Abyssinians. Selassie, the Holy Trinity, like the former, rises in bubbles from the sandy bank; the temperature of both was 118° Fahr. Mariam, the Blessed Virgin, at 115°, issues from a cave. Abbo, at 120°, percolates from the centre of a steep bank of red sandstone, covering basaltic *wacke*, through an artificial spout[58] for drinking the water. Numbers of dreadfully diseased patients were assembled, who have great faith in the sanative virtues of the waters.[59] Adjacent on the east, the territory of the Galla tribes succeeds; in fact, Dr. Beke describes the province of Gedem as "being in great part occupied by the Gallas."[60] I therefore think there can be no difficulty in identifying "the thermal springs at the mountainous dwellings of the Gabalas," as the Greek inscription records, with those celebrated ones at Telumbo, or Felamba, in nearly 10° 17′ N. lat. and 40° 2′ E. long.

I will now examine the statements of that part of the Greek text of the Adulitan inscription which relates to these springs.

[57] Aragawi's real name was Μιχαήλ (Michael). He was one of the nine saints of Abyssinia, and his anniversary is placed in 14 Tekemt (October) in the 'Senkesar,' or Calendar of the Abyssinian Christian Church. (See Harris, vol. iii. p. 406.) The life of Aragawi still exists in MS.

[58] Beke (*ibid.* p. 93) says, this spring runs out "by a wooden spout in a constant stream of about two inches in diameter, and at a height" which permits invalids to use it "as an excellent *douche* bath." Kirk's drawing shows this wooden spout.

[59] Harris's 'Highlands of Ethiopia,' vol. ii. p. 363.

[60] Beke's "Journey from Ankobar to Gedem," 'Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,' vol. xii. p. 94.

The king, who is speaking of his conquests over certain tribes, whom he records by their names, then mentions the nation Samine beyond the Nile, who live in the snow-clad mountains, and having passed over that river, he subdued them. Afterwards, he conquered the Lasinæ and Zaa and Gabala, dwelling near the mountains, from which issue thermal waters, Atalmo and Bega, and, together with them, all the other tribes. Next he adds, he subdued those of the Taggaïtes, dwelling as far as the borders of Egypt. From this we find the victorious but unknown king had passed over the river Nile, that is to say, the Black Nile [Astaboras or Teccazze], into the Samine nation. This, in fact, is clearly the present district, still called Samien, or Samen, and its identity is certain, for it is nearly the highest mountain-land in Abyssinia, and because in no other part of the kingdom can snow be said to exist throughout the year, *διὰ παντὸς*.[61]

Notwithstanding the great difference in writing the Abyssinian names of places and persons which travellers have introduced, I would identify the Lasinæ, Zaa, and Gabala with the people of Lasta, *i. e.* the Lastinæ, the country of Shoa, and one or more of the Galla tribes, living, as I have already shown in Gedem, or Giddem, near the Felamba springs at the foot of Mount Amba.

Previous to my attempt to identify other Greek names, which occur in that portion of the Adulitan

[61] On the mountains of Shoa, Major Harris observes, "ice is of uncommon occurrence." The chief Shoan range, being of secondary formations, are only about 9000 feet above the sea, and consequently below the limit of perpetual snow in that latitude. (Harris, vol. ii. p. 400.)

inscription, with the local names now existing in Abyssinia, I must notice a few of the variations in spelling certain Abyssinian words, mostly taken from Mr. Markham's recent work:—[62]

Antalo is by some written Hent'alo, but it is correctly Hentsalo.

Attegrath is Adigerat, or Athegerat, or Athagrat, or Attagerat.

Bareai is given Barya-hoo, or Bareahu.

Beshilo, also Bashelo and Bashilo.

Jidda is more properly Jitta.

Magdala is strictly Makdala.

Rayrayguddy for Raha-Guddy.

Waag, incorrect for Wag; so Wagshum for Wakshum.

Dixan for Dikshan, whilst the true word is Digsha; the French travellers write it Dixah.

Mamrat=Emamret, or Emmaret.

For Yasendye the correct form is Sindyana.

Also Abaï is often written Abaui, or Abawi.

Shoa = Shwa; Zodda = Soddo; Harrarge = Harargue.

Gengero=Zingero, but rightly it is Zhenjero.

And Yuai is spelt indifferently Swaï, or Zuai, or Zuwai, Zooay, or Souie.

The Lake Zooay of Johnston is called by J. Senex Zatuaia.

Seeing, then, the numerous mistakes and corruptions in the Abyssinian names, as published in different travels in that country, it is extremely difficult

[62] Markham, 'History of the Abyssinian Expedition,' in the prefatory note, pp. x.–xii. See "Additional Notes" at the end of this paper for Dr. Vincent's identification of many of the same places.

to determine the Greek proper names with the corresponding Abyssinian ones. I will, however, endeavour to do so with the names, which are given in the following passage from the *second* Adulitan inscription, as far as they seem to be probable, and allowing for our present imperfect knowledge of the various places and countries in Abyssinia:—

Αὐὰ καὶ Τιαμὼ τοὺς λεγομένους Τζιαμὼ καὶ τοὺς Γαμβηλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν καὶ Ζιγγαβηνὲ καὶ Ἀγγαβὲ καὶ Τιαμαὰ καὶ Ἀθαγαοὺς καὶ Καλαὰ καὶ Σαμινὲ ἔθνος πέραν τοῦ Νείλου ἐν δυσβάτοις καὶ χιονώδεσιν ὄρεσιν οἰκοῦντας, ἐν οἷς διὰ παντὸς νιφετοὶ καὶ κρύη καὶ χιόνες βαθεῖαι, ὡς μέχρι γονάτων καταδύνειν ἄνδρα, τὸν ποταμὸν διαβὰς ὑπέταξα, ἔπειτα Λασιναὶ καὶ Ζαὰ καὶ Γαβαλὰ οἰκοῦντας παρ' ὄρεσι θερμῶν ὑδάτων βλύζουσι καὶ καταῤῥύτοις, Ἀταλμὼ καὶ Βεγὰ καὶ τὰ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔθνη πάντα. Ταγγαϊτῶν τοὺς μέχρι τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁρίων οἰκοῦντας ὑποτάξας.[63]

I will take the names in the order in which they are placed; and the map I have used for the existing Abyssinian names is one published by Keith Johnston, in 1867, at Edinburgh.

Αὐὰ=Aua, the district *Awawa*, or probably Awawa. Dr. Beke has named a place *Au*, near the Hawash, to the east of Efat, which Major Harris writes *Háo;* but I think it cannot answer to *Αὐὰ*.

Τζιαμὼ, Tziamo=*Tzelalo?* Perhaps *Βζιαμὼ*, Bziamo =*Bizamo*.[64]

[63] Böckh, Corp. Inscript. Græc. (ed. Franz), vol. iii. p. 510–512.

[64] John Senex, F.R.S., in his noble map of Africa, dedicated to Sir Isaac Newton (1712) has laid down in 9° N. lat., just above Enarea and north of it, the "kingdom of *Bizamo*." It is between the two tributaries of the "White River" and below the word "Abassia" in my copy of it. (Plate i. vol. viii. p. 103, Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.) I did not add the names to that part, as I was not then engaged on Abyssinia. The

Γαμβηλὰ=Gambela, hodie *Gembela.*

Ζιγγαβηνὲ, Zingabene, now *Zingini.*

Ἀγγαβὲ, Aggabe=*Agameh;* or, according to Mr. Markham, *Agame.*

Τιαμαὰ, Tiamaa=*Tyanaa.*

Ἀθαγάοι, Athagai, now *Athagerat.* Also a Mount *Adigi* (Athigi), about ten miles S.W. of that town.

Καλάα, Calaa; very possibly *Cali*, in Enderta, N. of Antalo; but *Kaoli*, near the river Dender, seems too far off.

Σαμινὲ, Samine=Samien, or *Samyen.*

Λασιναὶ, more likely *Λαστιναὶ*, *Lastinæ;* or *Λαστναὶ* =*Lastnæ*, the inhabitants of *Lasta.*

Ζαὰ, or *Ζοὰ*=*Zhoa*, or *Shoa*, and in Portuguese, Xoa; or perhaps *Σαὰ*, or *Σοὰ*=Saa, or Shoa.[65]

Γαβαλὰ, Gabala, or Galala=*Galla.*

Ἀταλμὼ, Atalmo=*Talamet.*

Βεγὰ, Bega=*Bega-Meda*, Begamder, Begemder, or *Bega-Meder.*

Ταγγαϊτῶν, Taggaïtes, or *Takaïtes*=the people of *Taka* or *Takka*, near the "borders of Egypt," as in fact the inscription states, *τοὺς μέχρι τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁρίων οἰκοῦντας.*

lake which appears, and the large river over "kingdom of Galles" (*Galla*) is the lake Zooay of Johnston, which Senex terms Zatuaia, Krapf Swaï, and Rennell Zawaja, and the river is the Hawash, which he writes Haouache, and the branch issuing from the lake is named Matchi. The two branches of the "White River" (miscalled by Senex), or the Hesse, are, no doubt, the rivers Ded*hesa* and Yabus. Böckh (p. 514) says, possibly of Tziamo, Τζιαμὼ, "potius est Bizamo trans Nilum" (*i. e.* Cæruleum, seu *Azrek*), "quæ Mannerti sententia est."

[65] In like manner the tribe of Galla, in S. Abyssinia, called Soddo, is written by the Rev. J. L. Krapf Zodda. (Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. x. p. 474.)

The inscription, as given by Cosmas in his 'Topographia Christiana,' written by him in A.D. 545, was published by De Montfaucon in his 'Collectio Nova Patrum' (tome ii., Paris, 1706, p. 142). But Leo Allatius published it separately, in 1631, at Rome, from a MS. in the Vatican of the ninth century. Montfaucon evidently examined the Vatican Codex, as he gives some notes and various readings from it; and Böckh follows the same Codex. Two or three of these I will mention, since they show an uncertainty in spelling the proper names.

Σεμῆναι in Mont.=*Σαμινὲ* in Vat. Cod.

Βαθύτατοι, Mont.=*Βαθεῖαι*, Vat.

Λασινὲ, Mont., or *Λαζινὲ*, Mont.=*Λασιναὶ*, Vat.

Also 'Cosmæ Scholia ex Vaticano Codice,' notes on *Λαζινὲ*, *Ζαὰ*, *καὶ Γαβαλὰ*,—*τὰ ἔθνη ἕως τὸν σήμερον οὕτως καλοῦνται*: on this, however, Böckh (vol. iii. p. 514) incorrectly remarks, "evanuerunt hodie."

These ancient names—still traceable in Abyssinian words—may possibly at the present day be retained in a mere village, or a river, or a mountain; instead of being, as they originally were, the appellations of a district or of a nation.

Böckh, having referred to Mannert's work on 'Greek Geography,' observes as regards the identification of Samine with the existing Samen, "obloquente Mannerto." This error of the learned geographer should be, in some degree, pardoned, when we take into account our imperfect maps and knowledge of Abyssinia in 1826, in which year he published his laborious work. It is seen in Mannert's Map of East Africa,[66] that he incorrectly placed the "Semene"

[66] Mannert, 'Geographie der Griechen und Römer,' Leipzig, 1826, vol. x. pp. 160–62.

nation at the northern base of his "Lunæ Montes," which he has laid down in about 8° N. lat., and extending from east to west ten degrees, according to Ptolemy, viz. from 46° to 56° of longitude, east from Ferro. This corresponds not with Ptolemy's position of them in 12° 30′ S. lat.,[67] but with the present countries of Enarea, Gingiro, etc. He, most likely relying on Bruce's unbelief of tropical snow, supposed that the range of the Mountains of the Moon (τὸ τῆς Σελήνης ὄρος, Ptol.) was the only one in that region of Africa in which snow could lie.

Next, with respect to the "Lasinæ, Zaa, Gabala," Böckh adds, contrary to the note of Cosmas, that "they have disappeared;" and he does not notice the existence of thermal waters, or their probable situation near that people. Mannert, however, places in his map the "fontes calidi" in about 15° N. lat. and 54° 20′ E. long. (*Ferro*), on the other side of the Teccazze or Setit, and about halfway between it and the Mareb river. Just east of them he marks the race called Zaa,—now the Barea tribes,—Tigré being still more eastward. No hot springs seem ever to have been discovered in that locality, which agrees with the territory now termed Basen; modern Barea is still further to the north, and can in no way be assimilated to the tribe Zaa. Mannert, indeed, remarks on the province of the Zaa, that it was situated on the north side of the Teccazze, and that one must search for the celebrated mineral fountains in the same direction; "Die Versicherung des Kosmas, dass diese

[67] See the details of this from Ptolemy in my former memoir on 'The Central Lakes of Equatorial Africa,' Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit., vol. viii. p. 93.

Landschaften noch zu seiner Zeit die alte Benennung trugen, gibt uns also keine weitere Beihülfe, doch wissen wir dass auf dieser Nordseite, am flusse Tacazze die bezeichneten Völkerschaften ihr Wesen trieben, und dass man in dem nämlichen Striche die berühmten mineralischen Quellen suchen muss."[68]

Although several other thermal waters besides those of Galla, at Felamba, are known, still none so exactly agree with the description, as those celebrated ones in the highland of Gedem. In the 'Route Map of Abyssinia,'[69] published in the 'Blue Book,' some "hot springs" are laid down, about six miles to the north-west of the Lake Haik, near Berberi Waha, not far from one of the sources of the river Melli, and nearly in the same latitude as Magdala. They are, however, at a much lower height than Felamba; although, as being in the district of the Wollo Galla, they might, perhaps, be thought by some to correspond.

The French travellers also mention the "sources thermales de Finefinie," in the "Pays Galla;" these are near the Finefinie mountains and river, which seems to be the head tributary of the Hawash, to the south-west of Ankobar, and near the Soddo (or Zodda) Galla. And there are other known hot waters in the province of Efat (or Ifat), in the plain of the river Hawash (or Haouache) and on its banks.

Again, there are hot wells, marked in the same Blue Book map, near the region of Angot, at one of the principal head-springs of the Teccazze (Ain Tec-

[68] Mannert, vol. x. p. 162.

[69] This map, compiled by Mr. Ravenstein, was executed under the care of Col. Cooke and Col. Sir H. James, 1867.

cazze); but they are within the province of Lasta, and consequently do not fully agree with the Adulitan inscription. Nor are they mentioned as hot in Mr. Markham's History (p. 253), where he describes, from the Jesuit Tellez, the "three several springs that gush out violently within a stone's throw of each other." The source, too, of the river Gara, near Ficho, is a boiling spring.[70]

Hot springs occur near Ailet, a little south of the latitude of Massowa, about twenty-five miles to the south-west of it, and in 39° 8′ E. long. Mr. Mansfield Parkyns visited in 1843 these springs, which he says are "situated at some distance from the village, and are considered to be a favourite haunt of the lion."[71] And again, there is the Falhayto hot spring, near Atzfat (Atfat or Atfeh), at the head of Annesley Bay. These two last situations are, however, much too distant to the north to be considered as at all reconcileable with that named in the inscription.

It will thus be manifest that the thermal springs at Felamba—doubtless alluded to in this second Adulitan Inscription, which may be termed a memorial of an unnamed, but victorious Ethiopian king, and esteemed by Niebuhr, Ritter, and Humboldt, to be of about (or somewhat later than) the age of Juba and Augustus—have been in existence for a period of some seventeen or eighteen centuries, and that they continue still famous, and of great service in the alleviation of many diseases, with the poor Abyssinians.

I will now conclude my inquiries on the glacial and

[70] Hotten's 'Abyssinia and its People.' Lefebure, Blue Book, p. 212.
[71] Blue Book, p. 65.

snow-capped mountains of Abyssinia, by making a few more observations on the Σαμινὲ or Σεμῆναι ἔθνος,—the nation of the Samine, or Semenæ of the inscription.

That the existing province of Samen,[72] or Samien, or Semien is identical with it, no doubt can possibly be entertained. It is a truly alpine province, for its mountains attain, in elevation, to above 15,000 feet above the sea. Of these Raṣ Dejam, Detjem, or Detchen, is esteemed the highest, and about 15,150 feet: and living above the supposed line of perpetual snow,—which within the tropics is taken at about 13,500 feet; this people is well described as dwelling, ἐν δυσβάτοις καὶ χιονώδεσιν ὄρεσιν.

The formation of these mountains is volcanic; and consists of enormous masses of the varieties of trap,—mostly of amygdaloid and basalt. MM. Galinier and Ferret have thus described them:—"Les montagnes gigantesques du Samen dressaient leurs crêtes à une hauteur qui défiait le regard, et montraient à leur sommet des prismes, des pyramides, des colonnades de la forme la plus irrégulière."[73]

Indeed, as far as is yet known, no other district in Abyssinia can compete with it in extreme altitude (unless it be that of Mount Kollo of Von Heuglin), and its alpine summits may be correctly stated to reach even unto heaven, and to deserve the title of chief, or,[74]—

"Terrarum primam (*Samien*) nam proxima cœlo est."

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[72] The French officers, Galinier and Ferret, estimated the Samen mountains as *higher* than the Pyrenees, but a *little lower* than the Alps. They give Mount Blanc at 4800 metres, but Mount Dedjem at 4636 metres.

[73] Blue Book, p. 57.

[74] Lucan. Pharsal. ix. 5.

The very name of *Samen* possibly confirms this idea; for in Hebrew שמין, *Shamin* or *Samen*, or שמים *Samim* or *Shamim*, as in Psalm xix. 1, and in Chaldee[75] *Semaia*, signify the 'heavens.' And in the Amharic or common tongue of central Abyssinia, *Samai* or *Sämäie*=heaven. So in the Geez language, or true Ethiopic, *Samaiat*[76] is the sky or heaven; and *Samagata* means a "sky-viewer."[77] Also in Syriac, *Semaio*, or *Shemaio;* in modern Arabic, *Shema*, or *Sema;* and in Hurrurhje, or the dialect of Hurrur (or Harar), in 9° 20′ N. lat., and 42° 15′ E. long., *Semme*,—all signify the *heaven* or sky.

Therefore, the stupendous and lofty mountains of Samien of this day—like Mount Atlas of old—are said to touch the heaven with their glorious peaks, or in the words of Pausanias, *ὁ δὲ Ἄτλας ὑψηλὸν μέν ἐστιν οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ λέγεται ταῖς κορυφαῖς ψαύειν τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ.*[78] And Mount Atlas, being, according to Herr Höst, clad in perpetual snow,[79] may be still more closely likened, in a comparative description, to the alpine range of Central Abyssinia.

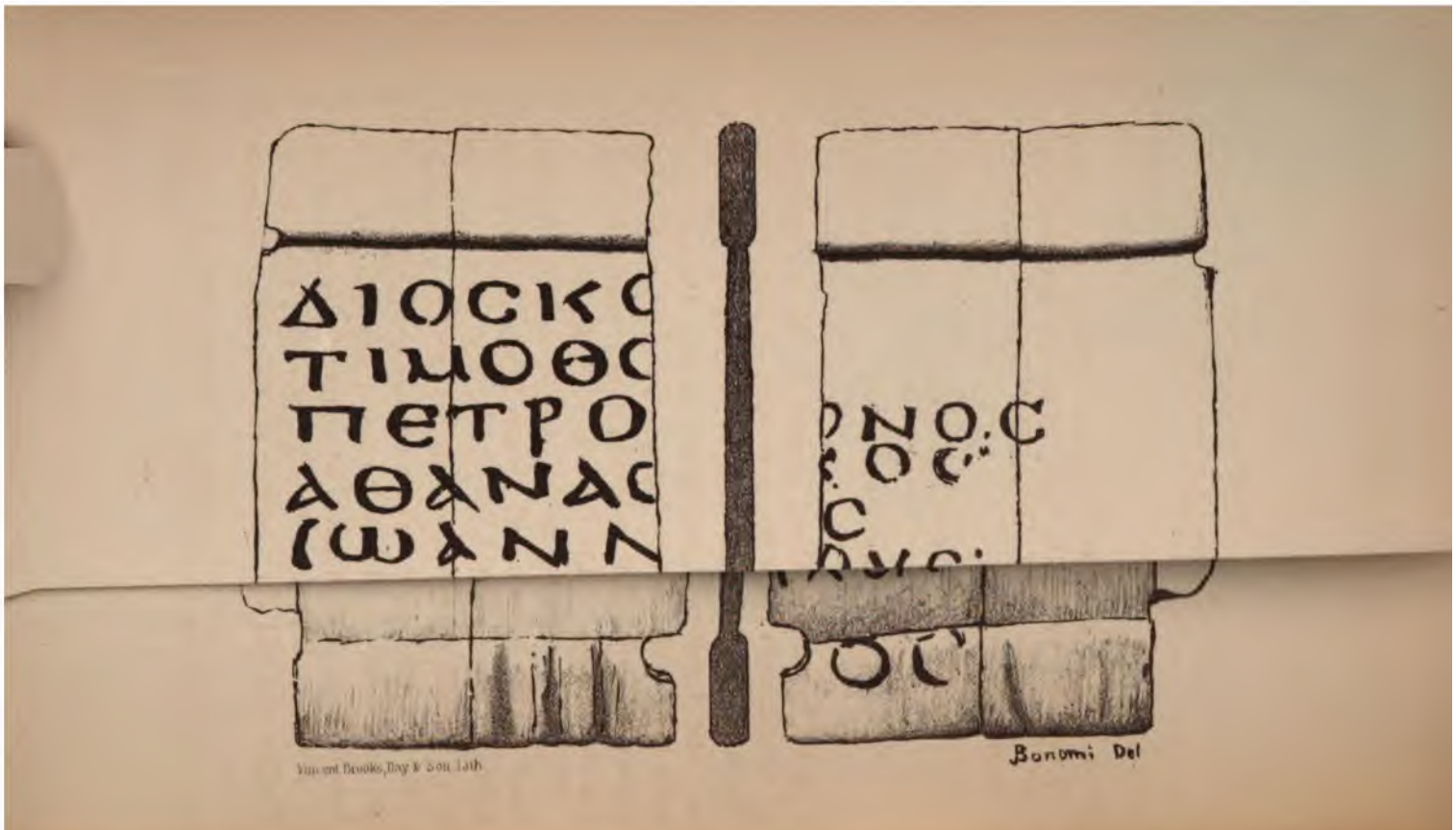
[75] According to Parkhurst, *heavens* in Chaldee, שמיא=*Samya*. (*Vide* Heb. Lex. p. 746, ed. 5, 1807.)

[76] Salt, in one of his Abyssinian views, writes the word *Samayut*.

[77] Plowden's 'Travels in Abyssinia,' p. 484.

[78] Pausanias, Græc. Descrip. lib. i. *Attica*.

[79] Pliny (v. 1) mentions the snow on Atlas even in summer:—"Verticem altis, etiam *æstate*, operiri *nivibus*." Also, Captain Washington, in 1830, says he gazed with delight "on its masses and peaks of *snow*." (Journ. Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. i. p. 139.) The chief (measured) peak is *Miltsin*, which rises to 11,400 feet above the sea, but he thought there were other summits more lofty.


ΔΙΟCΚΟ
ΤΙΜΟΘΟ
ΠΕΤΡΟ
ΑΘΑΝΑC
ΙΩΑΝΝ
Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.
Bonomi Del

IV. — SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON A GREEK TABLET BEARING THE NAME OF ΑΘΑΝΑCIOC, FOUND IN THE AASASEEF NEAR GOURNEH, THEBES, 1828.

BY W. R. COOPER.

(Read June 20, 1870.)

One of the most critical periods in the early history of Christianity was the accession of Athanasius of Egypt to the episcopal chair of Alexandria, A.D. 326, and the intestine convulsions of the Church may have been said to have culminated in the forced expulsion or exile of that bishop in the year 355, after the convocation of the Council of Milan.

The place chosen as his retreat was the sterile tract in the north-west of the Thebaid called the Libyan Desert, and here for six years he lived in exile, austerity, seclusion, and communion with God.

In this locality, some thirty years ago (about 1844) the attention of the well-known Egyptologist, Mr. Joseph Bonomi, was called by Signor Triandaphyllos, or Hawadgi Werdi,[1] a Greek merchant, resident in Thebes, to a till then unvisited antiquity. This was

[1] Werdi is the Arabic translation of Triandaphyllos, *i. e.* thirty-leaved (as a rose),—the pseudonym given by the natives to a learned and most amiable man.

one out of the many ancient catacombs of the eigh teenth dynasty in the high cliffs of El Gourneh, o the Aasaseef, and it consisted of two chambers rudely but deeply excavated in the solid rock. Th outermost of these and a levelled space, forming forecourt in front, had been in later times surrounde by a low brick wall, and thus converted into a Chris tian church about the fourth century. Pursuing hi researches, Mr. Bonomi discovered at the north-wes side of the furthest recess, or chancel, a long decree written in Greek capital letters nearly an inch squar at the height of three feet from the floor. Most o the plaster upon which the inscription was writte had been already thrown to the ground, apparentl by recent violence, and the utmost caution was ne cessary to enable even the first line to be copied That line began with, "I, Athanasius, Bishop o Alexandria."[2] It was the intention of the discovere to have endeavoured to obtain a transcript of th letters upon the remaining fragments, but, alas for the interests of archæology, time, violence, an neglect had so effectually done their work that thi valuable inscription, ere anything further could b attempted, was a thing of the past. Mr. Bonomi has, however, kindly favoured me with a rough tran script from memory of the text of the first line, an

[2] The excavation having been a tomb is the more likely a place t have contained an inscription by the illustrious exile when, in th eloquent words of Dean Stanley, "Athanasius, in his hiding-place i Egypt, (could) count upon the faithfulness and secrecy of his country men. Sometimes it was the hermits who afforded him shelter in thei rocky fastnesses; sometimes his fellow-townsmen supported him as h lay hid in his father's tomb outside the walls of their city."—*Stanley* '*Eastern Church*,' p. 273.

it may be desirable to compare it with other similar inscriptions:—

ΕΓΟΑΘΑΝΑCΙΟCΕΠΙCΚΟΠΟCΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΙ.

The connection between the illustrious Athanasius and the edifice from which this fragment was copied cannot here be determined, but the circumstance invests with additional interest the very curious relic of antiquity I now propose to describe.

This article (No. 554 in the catalogue of the Hay Collection)[3] is a writing-tablet made of a soft wood, and which, as a depression at both ends proves, has been filled with the usual preparation of wax and red chalk, upon which some former possessor has written with a metal stylus in so careless and rough a manner as to have penetrated into the surface beneath, as is indicated by many imperfect and ill-shaped letters deeply scratched in on one side. The waxen covering has, however, been long removed, and in its place, on both surfaces, a list of familiar Grecian names has been written in uncial characters with pale ink. These names are all imperfect, as the tablet is broken down the centre, and a portion of the right side is wanting. The names on the back, in the genitive case, are many of them terminated by stops, while those on the front, being incomplete, of course have none; a variation in the forms of the letters is also to be noticed in several instances, as in the second and seventh names (see Plate), where ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟC is spelt in one instance with the cursive or Coptic *m* (ⲙ), and in the other with the more usual ancient uncial (Μ).

There are also various peculiarities in the for-

[3] Now on exhibition at the Crystal Palace.

mation of the letters, some having what printers term a *serif*, or triangular finish to the straight lines, while others again are written in a bold, clear manner, all evidently with a brush and not with a calamus, without any attempt at ornament. Upon the whole, and especially as the names on the reverse exceed the margin of the tablet, it would appear that the inscription was not written by one person throughout, but was added to as occasion required.

Distinct among the other names, and the fourth in order from the top, occurs that of ΑΘΑΝΑϹ . . . , i.e *Athanasius*, in a hand precisely similar to that of the Theban inscription before alluded to, and in characters closely resembling those of the celebrated 'Codex Sinaiticus.'

But perhaps it may be desirable that I should now read the names themselves as far as they may be decipherable, commencing with those on the right side first.

ΔΙΟϹΚΟ(ΡΙΔΗϹ?)
ΤΙΜΟΘΕ(ΟϹ ?)
ΠΕΤΡΟ(Ϲ ?)
ΑΘΑΝΑϹ(ΙΟϹ?)
ΙΩΑΝΝ(ΗϹ?)
ΚΑΙ ΙΩΑΝ(ΝΗϹ?)
ΤΙΜΟΘ(ΕΟϹ ?)
ΘΕΟΔΟϹ(ΙΟϹ?)
ΠΕΤΡΟϹ
ΔΑΜΙΑΝ(ΟϹ ?)
ΑΝΑϹΤΑϹ(ΙΟϹ?)
ΑΝΔΡΟΝ(ΙΚΟϹ?)
ΚΑΛΛ(ΙΜΑΧΟϹ?).[4]

All more or less names of bishops and presbyters

[4] This last name is so far imperfect (see Plate) as to be very doubtfully restored. It may be ΚΑΙΑ, *i. e.* ΚΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟϹ.

who were present at the Councils of Chalcedon and Nicæa.[5]

The names on the reverse are unfortunately still more imperfect, and, indeed, are merely terminations, and in some instances only single letters. They are twenty-one in number, and read as follows:—

ONOC
(I?)O(O?)
C ?
OYO
NOC
IONOC
(I)TINOC
NOC
CPIOC
(Λ)AC:
CIOC:
(O)C
? A
OC
C:
NΔ? ΔPOC
? ? IOC:
OC:
OΘEOC:
INOC
? OC.[6]

I ought further to remark that there is evidence not only of correction, but also of erasures and subsequent re-inscriptions, on the tablet. The surface of the wood is deeply sunk in the middle, and the ink

[5] See Evagrius, lib. ii.

[6] The *scratched* names and fragments of names are omitted, as being far too illegible, and belonging to an earlier period.

of the letters has consequently a little spread from the depression beneath; while, on the other hand, a few of the names on the right side have suffered, probably from intentional obliteration.

Thus much for the relic itself. I know not whether it will be a fond conjecture sustained by the penetration of older and wiser Greco-philologists, yet I am fain to believe that this tablet, found under such circumstances in the Theban desert, the locality of the exile of Athanasius, and with evident marks of the period in which he lived, may be a contemporary relic of that great christian father. I do not venture to suggest what *special* reference this antiquity bears to him, whether it may be a list of his ecclesiastical coadjutors (and if such a list can be found preserved in any of our ancient church histories it would be well worth while to compare them), or even that it may be a relic of some less sacred character; yet this I will venture to affirm,—and I do not fear that the courtesy of your Society, or the dictum of common sense will contradict the affirmation,—that in this unpretentious palimpsest we have a far more authentic and a still more interesting relic of the illustrious controversialist of Alexandria than was ever possessed by Westminster Abbey, when in the famous pre-Reformation days she numbered amongst her treasures "the *tooth* of St. Athanasius."[7]

Note.—While this was passing through the press, I have been favoured, through the medium of 'Notes

[7] Dent. Westmonasterium, 1723.

and Queries,' with some remarks by the Rev. Edmond Tew, who has succeeded in identifying many of the names on the tablet, and to whose criticism contained in No. 12, for July 30, August 13, and September 24, 1870, I refer the reader for a corroboration of the views held in this paper.—W. R. C.

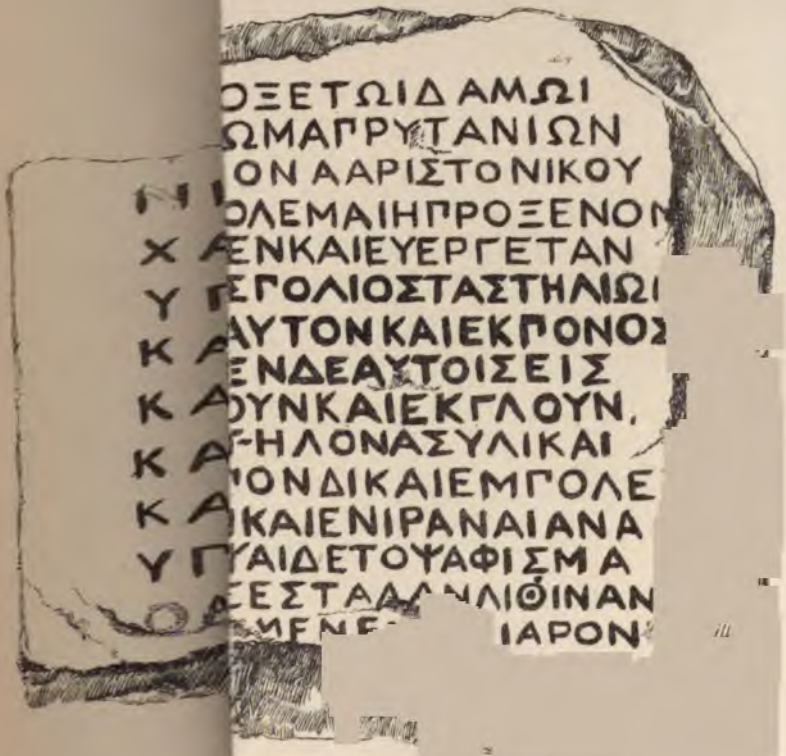
V.—ON VARIOUS GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM TELOS, COS, ATTALIA, AND THE REGION OF THE BLACK SEA, COPIED BY CAPTAIN SPRATT, R.N.

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D., F.L.S., ETC.

(Read April 27, 1870.)

Soon after the publication of his 'Travels in Crete,' Captain Spratt kindly put into my hands thirty-four inscriptions, with a view to their being made public. Most of them, so far as I am aware, have never been published before; but some from Telos and others from Cos have already been printed, those from the former island by L. Ross, in his 'Hellenika;' those from Cos, partly by L. Ross, in his 'Inedited Greek Inscriptions,' partly by Colonel Leake, in the first volume of the Transactions of this Society (New Series). Captain Spratt's inscriptions from Telos are ten in number, four having been previously published; those from Cos amount to eleven, two of which have been published independently, both by Ross and by Leake, and five others by Leake only. Captain Spratt's transcripts, being, as it were, portraits of the inscriptions, have in all cases been given,[1] but when the inscription has been already printed, either a bare

[1] I am extremely sorry to say that, since the transcripts passed out of my hands, they have been accidentally destroyed. The loss is irreparable, as they were the original and only copies made. Engravings have been made of two of them, which accompany this paper.


ΟΞΕΤΩΙΔΑΜΩΙ
ΩΜΑΓΡΥΤΑΝΙΩΝ
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ΟΛΕΜΑΙΗΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΝ
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ΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΕΚΓΟΝΟΣ
ΕΝΔΕΑΥΤΟΙΣΕΙΣ
ΟΥΝΚΑΙΕΚΓΛΟΥΝ,
Γ-ΗΛΟΝΑΣΥΛΙΚΑΙ
ΟΝΔΙΚΑΙΕΜΓΟΛΕ
ΙΚΑΙΕΝΙΡΑΝΑΙΑΝΑ
ΥΑΙΔΕΤΟΥΑΦΙΣΜΑ
ΕΣΤΑΔΑΝΛΙΘΙΝΑΝ
ΙΑΡΟΝ

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reference has been made to the book in which it is to be found, or else when it seemed advisable it has been edited afresh with notes, account being taken of the variations in the previous text. Five other inscriptions were copied in the Gulf of Cos. His two inscriptions from Adalia are in very poor condition, one more especially in which the name of the Pythian Apollo occurs, but the great Apollo himself could scarcely divine the meaning of the inscription in its present state.[2] The remaining six are from various places on or near the western shore of the Black Sea, without counting an additional one from Amorgus, recently (December, 1869) put into my hands.

A few words may be added here on the contents and importance of the unpublished inscriptions. The most interesting is from the Gulf of Cos (n. 25), inasmuch as it appears to fix the site and give the name of the city (Ceramus) among whose ruins it was found. This inscription, which must be of the date 251 A.D., tells us distinctly that Hostilianus was the son of the Emperor Trajanus Decius, about which there had been previously some doubt. Another inscription from a beautiful fragment of a doorway of a

[2] "The Adalia inscriptions I feared would puzzle you, from the difficulties under which they were copied. They were the only ones I did not myself wholly copy; as on visiting Adalia I saw that they were additions to what I had hunted out when there with Daniel and Forbes on our Lycian excursion; and as the longest was in a house in a narrow street, opposite the harem windows of a jealous old Turk, I thought it was not quite the thing, or rather was inviting scandal, if I, as the captain of the British man-of-war, then anchored off the port, was seen there for an hour or two labouring at the inscription. . . . So I put an intelligent and trustworthy young friend, Mr. Millard, to do it. He, however, had no small difficulty, independent of a want of experience in such work."—*Letter from Captain Spratt, December 4*, 1869.

temple at Ceramus bears the name of Antoninu
and we can hardly doubt that a temple there wa
dedicated to Antoninus Pius, a great benefactor t
Cos, as we know from Pausanias. In other inscrip
tions occurs the word μόναρχος, the title of the prin
cipal magistrate of Cos, even in imperial times, an
Ἰσθμὸς, the name of a city on the isthmus of Co
The inscriptions from Telos are mostly sepulchra
and of little importance, except that a few prop
names scarcely occur elsewhere. A somewhat mor
interesting inscription (in Doric) records that th
people of Telos, with the advice of their prytanes, ap
point one Arion, of Ptolemais, to be their proxenu
This Ptolemais is probably the city built in the po
of the Old Barca, in the Cyrenaica, and this vie
receives some confirmation from a sepulchral inscrip
tion on a woman of Alexandria, buried in Telos; bot
showing a connection between Telos and the Afric
of the Ptolemies. Passing over the mutilated in
scriptions from Adalia, the ancient Attalia, we not
among those from the Black Sea one from Yenis
(in Scythia Parva), an epitaph on a physician of Tom
in which the place is named as the metropolis of th
Euxine (an honour which it probably obtained in th
time of Antoninus Pius) and as having been founde
by Tomus, whose name occurs on some coins of Tom
but is not otherwise known. Another inscriptio
from Kustenjeh (Constantiana, near the more ancien
Istrus or Istropolis), belonging to imperial times, in
forms us that Pontus was governed by a Pontarch,
title occurring in a few other inscriptions, and als
that it was then a hexapolis, a fact apparently mad
known by this inscription only. An inscribed bloc

in fine, found on Serpent Island, near the mouth of the Danube (Achilleos Dromos), records honours paid to one who was apparently an inhabitant of the island by the people of Olbia.

I have to express my thanks to Captain Spratt, Dr. Blass, Dr. Hager, and S. S. Lewis, Esq., for several valuable suggestions as these pages were passing through the press.

COCKFIELD RECTORY, SUDBURY, SUFFOLK,
November 7, 1871.

INSCRIPTIONS COPIED IN THE ISLAND OF PISCOPI OR TELOS, SEPTEMBER 12, 1860.

The inscriptions are ten in number; none of them are contained in Böckh's Corpus Inscript. (vol. ii.), published in 1843, nor indeed has he any inscription from Telos at all. Ross, however, in his 'Hellenika,' vol. i. pt. 1, printed at Halle in 1846, gives nine inscriptions from Telos; of these four are common to Captain Spratt and himself. It appears that the stone of Telos is not favourable to the preservation of inscriptions. (Smith's Dict. Geogr. s. v.)

1. In courtyard of lower church of town of Telos, this stone forms the doorstep of the schoolrooms.

[Ἀριστό]δοκος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ [τ]ᾶ[ς] . . . .

The first word has the last letter imperfect; it may possibly be *Ἀριστοδόκου* (but see n. 9). The mutilated letters in the second line, ⊙*K*⊙*I*, are not very suggestive. A friend inclines to read *καὶ τᾶς οἰκίας*.

2. In courtyard of church in town of Telos.

[πε]ρίβολος.

This fragment may be suspected, from Captain Spratt's sketch, to belong to the preceding.

3. On the steps of a private house in town o Telos.

Αἴνησις Κρῆσα
γυνὰ δὲ Λέοντος.

On this epitaph, above which appear fragments o ornamentation, we have *Κρῆσα* for *Κρῆσσα*. The pro per name *Αἴνησις* does not occur in Pape.

4. A sepulchral stele with plain pediment, the cor nice is also plain. The stone forms a step leading t the courtyard or terrace, near the upper church i the town (Panaghia).

Ἀγαθο[βο]ύλα
Ἐχεδάμου
[γ]υνὰ δὲ Τιμάρχου.

This is No. 5 of Ross; his readings agree, excep that the only letter enclosed by him in a bracket i the last letter of *Τιμάρχου*. This letter is plain i Spratt's copy, while three others have indications o mutilation.

5. In a narrow street, the stone forming a ste leading to a terrace or house, and the inscription ex posed on the outside end. It occupies the centre o the stone.

Δρούθου.

This is No. 6 of Ross; the name is not found i Pape; it occurs again in No. 7, col. A.

6. On a large slab inside a doorway close to No. 5 the inscription being on the inside of the slab, an facing a kind of stable.

Ἀριστόφιλος Χλ . . . .
θεοῖς πᾶσιν.
Εὔξενος Φα . ακυ . αος ἐποίησε.

The letters of the mutilated word in the last line are probably miscopied in part; *Φερεκράτεος*, or *Φερεκύδεος*, is not very far removed from the *ductus literarum*.

7. A large slab, the first two lines of which seem to have been written across the whole breadth of the stone; the remainder of the inscription is in three columns (A. B. C.). Ross has published this inscription (n. 1); his copy has been made use of as well as that of Captain Spratt, who does not say in what part of Telos it is found.

. . . . *θ* . . *χας* [*Φιλό*]*ξενος Φιλοσ*[*τράτου*] . . . . . *θα*
[*τ*]*ὰν ἐνιαυσίαν ἐπὶ δαμιοργοῦ* [*Βοΐ*]*σκου* [*Ἀπό*]*λλωνί Πυθίῳ.*

A.

Ἀριστόβουλος Ἀριστομένευς.
Ἱερώνυμος Ἱέρωνος.
Τίμαρχος Δαμοκράτευς.
Κλευμήδης Ἐχεδάμου.
Σιμίας Σιμία.
Κλείτων Δρούθου.
Χαιρέφιλος Ἀριστογ[*έν*]*ευς.*
Κλεισίθεμις Ἀλεξιμάχου.
Νικᾶναξ Νικαγόρα.
Καλλιστόδικος Σαί[*νοντος*].

B.

Ἀριστίων Ἀριστοτίμου.
Ἀριστόξενος Ἀριστωνύμου.
Διόγειτος Φιλτοδάμου.
Ἀριστοκράτης Τιμανδρίδα.
Ὀνόσανδρος Ἀριστάνδρου.
Ἀριστοδάμας Δαμοσθένευς.
Ἀν[*τικ*]*λείδας Χαροφῶντος.*

Σῖμος Βλόσωνος.
[*Ἀριστό*]*τιμος Ἀριστ*[*οφ*]*ίλου.*
. . . . . *Ἀριστοφίλου.*

C.

Ἀριστόδοκος Δαμοδίκου.
Αριστότιμος Ξενοτίμου.
Τιμοκρηῦν Ξενοφῶντος.
Αριστανδρίδας Ἀνδρίσκου.
Ἑρμοκρηῦν Ἑρμαγορίδα.
Ἑρμοκρηῦν Νικάνακτος.
Κλειτόμαχος Καλλιστογ[ένευς].
Ἀριστόδοκος Δαμαρχίδα.
Ἡρογείτων Δαμοκράτε[υς].

The first line of the inscription is slightly more complete in Spratt's copy; but far less so in the second, which is taken from Ross. At the same time it may be suspected, from Spratt's copy, that more letters should be supplied. The general meaning appears to be, that the undersigned undertook the yearly theoria to the Pythian Apollo, when Boiscus was the demiurgus or chief magistrate at Γelos. Philoxenus may, perhaps, have been the person sent as *θεωρός*.

In the catalogue of names there is not much difference between Ross's and Spratt's copies. Both have *Φιλτοδάμου* in column B., which is probably a mere error of the stone-cutter for *Φιλοδάμου*. Ross has *Χαιροφῶντος*, instead of Spratt's *Χαροφῶντος*, which is perhaps better (col. B.); he has also *Βλόσωνος*, which is here adopted in preference to Spratt's *Χλόσωνος* (col. B.); as is his *Ξενοτίμου* (col. C.), where Spratt's copy is blundered; but Spratt's *Ἑρμαγορίδα* (col. C.) is probably right, and not *Τιμαρχίδα*, as Ross reads. In the last line of col. C. I had suspected *Ἡροσῶν* to be intended, from Spratt's transcript, *ΗΡΟΙΣΤΩΝ*; but, on the whole, prefer reading *Ἡρογείτων*, with

Ross. The other very slight variations of our text, agreeing with Ross, from Spratt's transcript, need not be mentioned.

Several unusual names occur in the inscription, and also the rare forms *Τιμοκρηῦν* and *Ἑρμοκρηῦν* for *Τιμοκρέων*, *Ἑρμοκρέων*, *ηυ* being a Dorism for *εω*, somewhat after the analogy of *ευ* for *εο* in *Δαμοκράτευς*, etc., as Ross observes.

8. Built in the wall of a house, over the door, in the plain below the town of Telos. Length nine inches; height, on left-hand side, nine inches. A sepulchral slab, the lower part of a female draped figure still remains above the inscription; behind her is a stele (?), at the base of which stands a bird.

Σατύριον
Ἀλεξανδρηὶς
γυνὰ δὲ Κορύμβου.

9. In the Acropolis, over the town of Telos, just in front of the church-door, inside of entrance, left-hand side. This inscription, which is also published by Ross, No. 3, has been rudely broken in the middle, and several letters are in consequence lost. (Engraved.)

Νικάνασ[σα Ἑρ]μοδόκ[ου].
Χαρσίφ[ιλος Ἀλ]εξιμάχ[ου]
ὑπὲρ τᾶς [γυν]αικός·
καὶ Ἀλεξίμα[χο]ς καὶ Ἑρμόδοκ[ος]
καὶ Ἀριστόφι[λο]ς καὶ Χαρσίφιλ[ος]
καὶ Κυδαίνων [κ]αὶ Κλείτω[ν]
καὶ Κλειτάνασσα Χα[ρσιφίλου]
ὑπὲρ τᾶς ματρ[ὸ]ς,
[Ἀ]θάνᾳ Π[ολ]ιάδι κ[α]ὶ Διὶ Π[ολιεῖ.]

Ross's text agrees, except that the bracketed letters are rather less numerous; in line 6 I have followed him in reading *Κλείτων*, as he has seen the inscription, and does not place the *ω* in a bracket; but Spratt's transcript shows that all the letters are faint after the first, and he reads *ο* in place of *ω*; so that it is possible that we should read *Κλειτόμαχος*, or *Κλειτοσθένης*. With regard to the meaning of this sepulchral inscription, which is probably complete, there seems to be a pause at the end of the first line, which gives Nicanassa (a word apparently not occurring elsewhere) as the name of the person buried. The monument was erected by her husband, Charsiphilus, six of her sons, and a grand-daughter, and dedicated, with funeral oblations, to Minerva and Jove.

10. The exact place of finding not named by Spratt, perhaps also from the Acropolis. (Engraved.)

[ἔ]δοξε τῷ δάμῳ·
γνώμα πρυτανίων
Ἀρίονα Ἀριστονίκου
Πτολεμαιῆ πρόξενον
ἦμεν καὶ εὐεργέταν
τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς Τηλίων,
καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνος·
ἦμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς εἴς-
πλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν
εἰς Τῆλον ἀσυλὶ καὶ
ἀσπονδὶ, καὶ ἐμ πολέ-
μῳ καὶ ἐν ἰράνᾳ· ἀνα-
[γ]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψάφισμα
[τό]δε ἐ[ς] στάλαν λιθίναν,
[καὶ θέ]μεν πα[ρὰ τ]ὸ ἰαρὸν
. . . . . .

The restoration of the last line is uncertain; if it be correct, the inscription is incomplete. With this decree, so far as the general sense is concerned, we may compare others found in Crete by Captain Spratt ('Travels in Crete,' vol. ii. pp. 425–427), and for the concluding part the words of a Coan inscription, published by Leake (Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit. Vol. I. p. 19, second series), *τοὶ ταμίαι ἀναγραψάντων τόδε ψάφισμα ἐς στάλαν λιθίναν καὶ ἀναθέντων παρὰ τὸν δόμον τοῦ Διός· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ γενόμενον ἐς τὰν στάλαν στησάντων τοὶ ταμίαι.*

The Ptolemais, to which Arion belonged, may probably have been the city founded on the port of Barca. (See Spratt's 'Crete,' vol. ii. p. 424.)

The orthography of *ἰράνᾳ* and *ἰαρὸν* has been left unaltered. The reading, indeed, in the latter case is not absolutely certain.

Inscriptions copied in the Island of Cos, September 14–18, 1860.

The number of inscriptions is eleven, but seven of them have been already published by Colonel Leake in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. I.; of these seven Ross has also given two in his Inscr. Gr. Ined. under no. 178 (Athens, 1842). The remainder are mostly so mutilated that they yield little information.

11. As Leake, no. xxvii., but Spratt has the form *ἀρχιερῆ* for *ἀρχιερέα*; and (apparently) *συγκαθιέρωσεν* for *καθιέρωσεν.*

12. As Leake, no. xxxvii., exactly.

13. As Leake, no. xxix., but it should rather be read—

Νικομάχη
[*Τιμ*]*ανδρίδα*, or, as Ross prefers, [*Εὐ*]*ανδρίδα*.

14. At the site of the temple near Kephala—

ερ . . .
ἀγροῦ τ . .
θυσίαν ρα . . .
Διονύσω κ . . . .
ἄνδρες αν . . .
Τελευτίαν.

15. As Leake, xiii., also published by Ross *u.s.*

16. This important inscription is the same as Leake, no. xliii. Lieutenant Helpman, quoted by Leake, notes that the lower part has been defaced at a very early period. A little, and but a little more can be made out from Spratt's copy.

[*ὁ δᾶμος*] *ὁ* ᾽*Αλασσαρνιτᾶν*
[*σέ*]*βε*[*ται* ᾽*Α*]*ρτεμιν.*

. . . . . ᾽*Απόλλων*[*α*]
[*τὸν Δή*]*λιον ὡς . . . .*

The words at the beginnings of the lines are all uncertain; but we have Halassarna and not Halasarna (as Leake writes), for the name of the city, whose site is presumed to be fixed by this inscription. There is also little doubt that the name of Apollo, as well as of Artemis, occurs in the inscription.

17. As Leake, no. xl. and no. xli. Both are parts of the same inscription.

18. In a vineyard near Palaionisi, near Kephala, south-west end of island of Cos.

σανδ . . .
πλεο . .
σσω . . . .
τινου . . .

It may be suspected that we have here fragments of Roman proper names, as Crassus, Valentinus.

19. This and the two following are copies of inscriptions on small pieces of marble slabs, brought from the site of the temple near Kephala.

. . ς θηλεῖα . . . .
. . [μ]όναρχος τῷ Ἅλῳ
. . . νον ὡς λαμπρότατον
. . [μον]άρχου, ἵνα δὲ θεῶν μα . .
τελεα ταῦτα νο . .
[εἰ]ςφερέτω δὲ ὁ
. . . . . νον ἐγ δύο . .

In the third line we may perhaps read στέφανον.

20. Perhaps a portion of the preceding inscription.

. . . ερ Αἰλ . Τιβ .
. . ον . α . . . ο
. . αι ἐμ πο
. . νο . οντελε
. . [Ἀ]σκλαπίῳ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ
. . . ἄμφυτος μηνιαία
. . . . . αι πλ . . . . .
. . . εκτον κα
. . ται ἐπὶ τὰς ἱστιά[σεις]
. . ται πανδάμῳ ἱερε
. . ταῦτα ν . . . . δρε . .

. . . ταται ποτε . . . . .
. . . σματα ταυ
. . . ον ἀρσεν . . .

The title of the principal magistrate at Cos was μόναρχος (Leake, *u.s.* p. 8). Isthmus is a city of Cos, near the modern Kephala. (Leake, *u.s.* p. 8.) The worship of Asclepius prevailed greatly in Cos, and Hippocrates, his descendant, is said by Strabo to have studied the description of cures wrought in his temple. ἄμφυτος (ἀνάφυτος) formed as ἔμφυτος, seems to be a new word for the Lexicons.

The general appearance of the characters, and also the occurrence of ἄρσην in this fragment, and θῆλυς in the other, lead us to suspect that No. 20 is the upper part of the same inscription as No. 19. Just enough remains to show that an interesting monument has been lost to us.

21. Same locality.

. . .
διὰ φυλακ . . .
. . ονίκου Ἰσθμι . .
. . . . μιν ἑβδόμῳ . .
. . [τό]δε τὸ ψάφισμα κα . .
. . . . . καὶ ἀναθέντων ἐν τ[ῷ ἱαρῷ]
τω ἵνα δὲ Καῖος σὺν πᾶσι
ἀτιμίᾳ Νικίαν Νικίο οις . . .
. . λοχος ἄνδρας μισθοφο . . . .
. . τες ἀνα[γράψαι] τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα
. . ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὰν βουλὰν καὶ
. . ος πολίτας ποιήσασθαι ταν αν
. . . . ηκουσι καὶ
[Ἀπολ]λόδωρος Νικομάχου, Νικομαχ . .
. . τος . . . . . τοῦ Δαμο-
Πνυ]ταγόρας Φιλίστου, Μίκων Ἐμ-

. . ωνος, Ζώπυρος Ἀρίστωνος,
αν, Κώμαρχος β, Τειμαγόρας Ἑκα-
. . . ιστοφάνου, Πυθοκλῆς β, Χαρίδα[μος]
ας Ἀριστοκλείδα.

A proposition apparently to admit certain persons to the rights of citizenship. It is manifest that some of the letters are miscopied, so that it is difficult to make anything out of the small fragment which remains.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM VARIOUS OTHER PLACES.

22. This and the four following are from the Gulf of Cos, on a spot considered by Captain Spratt to be the site of an ancient city, Ceramus. "At a well in midst of ruins of city, and near a very beautiful doorway, apparently the entrance of a temple."

Ἀντωνεινῷ Σεβ[αστῷ].

Antoninus Pius was a benefactor to Cos and Caria after a destructive earthquake (Pausan. viii. 43); and this beautifully engraved stone, apparently a part of an architrave, may commemorate the dedication of a temple to him.

23. In wall of a small modern house in midst of ruins of ancient city.

τέκνοις αὐ . . .
μῳ.

24. In the same house as No. 23. Perhaps a part of the same ancient monument as the preceding.

Ἀγρίππα καὶ Ἰουλίας (in three lines, two garlands below).

M. Vipsanius Agrippa married, for his third wife,

Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and widow of his nephew Marcellus. It is at least not impossible that these are the persons commemorated.

25. On a column in a plain below the city, apparently the site of a temple.

τὸν θεοφιλέστατον
Καίσαρα Γάϊον Βάλεντα
Ὀστιλλιανὸν Μέσ[σ]ιον
Κούϊντον Εὐσεβῆ, Εὐ-
τυχῆ, Σεβαστὸν, υἱὸν
τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτο-
κράτορος Καίσαρος
Γαΐου Μεσσίου Κουΐντου
Τραιανοῦ Δεκίου, Εὐσεβοῦς,
Εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ,
ἡ Κεραμητῶν πόλις
εὐτυχῶς.
Μ. Αὐ . Β . Πολείτῃ β. τῷ
ἀρχιατρῷ πρώτῳ ἄρ-
χοντι τὸ β.

This inscription is interesting on several accounts, most especially because it mentions the inhabitants of the city of Ceramus, amongst whose ruins it was found. This is the Ceramus in Caria, near Cnidus, mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy. (See Eckhel, Doct. N. V. ii. 579.) The site of the city (as Captain Spratt observes in a letter), from the extent of the ruins had been determined by his surveys of the gulf of Cos; and also had been visited and mentioned by Mr. Newton, but no inscription with the name was ever found previous to his visit, nor did the locality retain any resemblance to the name. "Seeing the name on this inscription," he adds, "which had escaped Newton and others, I saw its value, and immediately copied it."

Moreover, this inscription distinctly establishes the fact that Hostilianus was the son of Trajanus Decius. "Vetus est inter eruditos lis, aliis hunc Hostilianum Decii filium, aliis generum enixe statuentibus," says Eckhel (Doct. V. N. vol. vii. p. 351); but he himself is decidedly of opinion that he was the son of Decius. The titles here given him agree with those on his coins, which read IMP. CAE. C. VAL. HOS. MES. QVINTVS AVG. These, like our inscription, are all to be referred to A.D. 251.

In Captain Spratt's copy we have KVINTON, but the O was very possibly expressed in a small character, more especially as he gives EVΣEBVΣ for *Εὐσεβοῦς*. The "column" probably either supported a bust of Hostilian, or was a base of an altar.

The concluding lines appear to mean that M. Aur. B. (perhaps the initial letter of *Βίκτωρ* for Victor, compare Sex. Aur. Victor) Polites, twice appointed court-physician, and first archon for the second time, erected this monument to Hostilianus in the name of the city.

26. On another upright column, "The last three lines. All the upper part is so obliterated as to be unintelligible; but the column appears to have been inscribed four or five feet further up."

. . . . . *Σεκοῦνδος* (?)
. . . . . [*Τε*]*ρεντία*
. . *νου καὶ ἐπιτρόπου Ἀππιανοῦ* (?) *Κλάρου.*

The remaining letters are manifestly so worn away, that nothing satisfactory can be made out. The name Clarus alone is clear, which fixes the inscription to Roman times.

This and the following were copied by Captain Spratt and Mr. Millard at Adalia, the site of the ancient Attalia. Both are evidently very much defaced, and scarcely anything can be made out from the transcripts.

27. Inscription on block of stone in wall of fortifications, Adalia, written in Iambics.

με . . . . . .
. . . . κνοις πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις
ὁ παγγαληνὸς εὐσεβὴς αὐτοκράτωρ
Λέων . . . . [Κω]*νσταντ*[. . . λ . . .

(The next six lines are illegible.)

. . . . . μοναχὸς . .
ὃς καὶ χορηγὸς τῶν ὅλων (?) *καὶ δεσπότ*[*ης*]
Εὐ[*φ*]*ήμιος δὲ τοῦ Κράτους* (?) *μυστογράφος,*
[*ὅς ἐγένετ' ἔρ*]*γων εὐφυὴς ἐπιστάτης.*

In line 2 the copy appears to have *ἀτέκνοις*, which can hardly be right; *παγγαληνὸς* is distinct in the transcript. The word is found in Theodosius Diaconus, a Byzantine writer of the tenth century, and here seems to be used as in our expression, His Most Serene Highness (Serenissimus Princeps).

Λέων. This more resembles the transcript than anything else, yet can scarcely be counted upon, unfortunately.

ὅλων. The copy has *ΑΛΩΝ*; but it is impossible that this can be right.

Κράτους. So the transcript with *NI* written above. Possibly we should read *Εὐφήμιος δὲ Νικοκράτους*; but it is rather to be suspected that *τοῦ κράτους μυστογράφος* should be rendered *the Secretary of the Empire.*

μυστογράφος. This rare word is used for *a secretary*

in Joannes of Euchaita and other Byzantine writers. (See Dindorf's Stephanus and Sophokles, *s. v.*) The inscription bears every appearance of having been written in the times of the Lower Empire, probably when one of the Leos was on the throne.

28. Inscription on stone in wall of house leading to guardhouse, Adalia.

Probably in part written in hexameters, but so hopelessly mutilated, that only a very few words of the forty-four lines, of which remnants survive, can be read in the copy.

v. 3. *παλάμης εἰς χαι*
v. 5. *ἀλλ' ἡσύχιος*
v. 6. ΔΔΔΔΙ (?) ΚΒ . . .
v. 7. *τέσσαρα*
v. 8. *σπέρμα*
v. 9. *ἄπρακτο . .*
v. 10. *θνητος*
v. 12. *τέσσαρα*
v. 14. *αἴθωνες*
v. 18. *Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην . . . κλειαν . . .*
v. 19. *ὅσσα θέμις καὶ*
v. 23. *εὕριν καὶ . .*
v. 25. *Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος.*
v. 26. *φονίου χρησμοῖσι . .*
v. 27. *ἥσυχος ἴσθι.*
v. 28. *εἰσχῶν*
v. 29. ΔΔΔ ΚΔ *Κρόνου τεκνοφάγου.*
v. 30. *με δόμων . . . . ἡμερόδινε* (?)
v. 31. *. . . . καὶ ἀλάστωρ . . .*
v. 32. *Πνυταγόρω*
v. 33. Δ . . . . ΚΕ . . . . *ος φωσφόρου.*
v. 39. *τοὺς ἕλικας πάντων*
v. 40. *. . . πάντες ἐς οι . .*

The remaining four lines unintelligible.

Scarcely anything more can be determined from the inscription than that it refers to Pallas Athene, and the Pythian Apollo. Various numerals occur, which may indicate sums of money spent, but these are also imperfect. See Ross, Inscr. Gr. Vet. Prol. p. li.

The following six inscriptions are from various places on the Black Sea.

29. Inscription on a marble pedestal at the village of Yenisel (New Village), Dobrutcha. An epitaph on Scladatus, a physician of Tomi.

[ὅσ]τις ἐμὰν μετὰ μοῖραν ἐμὸν βίον ἐξερεείνη,
χὤτις ἔην, τί δ' ἔρεξα, καὶ οὔνομα πατρίδος ἀμῆς,
[μ]άνυσον τοσάδε (?) καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀκούην.
πάτρα μοι πέλεται ματρόπτολις Εὐξείνοιο,
ἄστυ περικλήϊστον ἐϋμμελίαο Τόμ[οιο],
οὔνομα δὴ Σκλάδατος (?), τέχναν δ' Ἕλληνος ἄνακτος
Ἱπποκράτευς θείοιο καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀκούην.

These restorations are sufficiently near to the *ductus litterarum* to inspire confidence in their correctness; for *τοσάδε* perhaps *τόσα δὴ* should be read, but the text may be right.

Τόμοιο, the hero Tomus, the reputed founder of Tomi, according to the coins of the place, some of which read **ΤΟΜΟϹ ΚΤΙϹΤΗϹ**, "de quo tamen altum apud veteres silentium" (Eckhel, ii. 18).

In line 6 *δὲ* should perhaps be substituted for *δή*.

In the last line it is impossible to doubt that the words *καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀκούην* are erroneously repeated from above; some such word as *ἐποιεύμην* probably governed *τέχναν*. "That the inscription mentions

Tomi, or was on a physician of that place is natural, from its vicinity to that city." (Spratt *in litt.*)

30. On a pedestal near Kustenjeh (Constantiana). Honorary tablet to T. Cominius Claudianus Hermaphilus.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ-
μος Τ. Κομίνιον
Κλαυδιανὸν
Ἑρμάφιλον τὸν
σοφιστὴν καὶ
ἀγωνοθέτην
ἀρετῆς χάριν
τὸν Ποντάρχην
τῆς ἑξαπόλεως
καὶ ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἱερέα
τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων.

This inscription shows that Pontus was united into a hexapolis at the time it was written, and was governed by a magistrate, called a Pontarch; compare Asiarch, Bithynarch, etc. *Ποντάρχης* occurs in a few inscriptions (Böckh, n. 2076, 2077); but we learn, for the first time perhaps, from this inscription, that it was divided into a confederation of six cities. At one time it was a Pentapolis (Böckh, n. 2056, C.); the date of the present inscription is perhaps later. We learn from coins that Cominius Proclus was proconsul of Cyprus in the reign of Claudius; it is not unlikely that T. Cominius Claudianus may have some connection with him. If so, it is natural to think that Vespasian and Titus may be the emperors mentioned.

31. Copied on the reverse of the same leaf of Cap-

tain Spratt's note-book, and, therefore, in all likelihood from the same place or neighbourhood. He observes that parts of the column are very much defaced, and that all the sigmas are formed C, and all the omicrons |◇| Probably an epitaph in verse—

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

The upper part all defaced.

με ἐπιτρόπου α
. . . . . μητρο . . . . .
προύγραψαν ἐ
ληφορον ἤδη
. . . . . κ(ῦ)-
δος ἐγειρε πάτρης. (Figure of a leaf.)

The concluding words appear to end a pentameter.

32. At Hassdoolik, an hour and a half from Kustenjeh. Epitaph of Appia, wife of Valerius, son of Archelaus.

Οὐαλέριος
Ἀρχελάου
συμβίου ἰδίας
Ἀπφίας ἀνέστη-
σεν στηλίδα (?)
μνήμης χάριν,
συμβιώσας
αὐτῇ ἔτη . . .
χ[αῖρε, ὦ παρο]
δεῖτα . . . .
(Figure of a leaf.)

The copy seems to have στηλλειδ. , which may also be for στηλίδιον.

For the last two lines compare Böckh, no. 2126, b.

The last four letters cannot be read.

33. At Tekpeergeylon, on north-west angle of Touzla Lake, near Kustenjeh. On a column. Honorary inscription to M. Aur. Scapula.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
τέκτονες οἱ
ἀποδεδειγμέ-
νοι ἐνεφάνισαν (?)
τῆς ἀρχῆς Μ. Αὐ.
Σκαπούλαν Π-
ρόκλου.

For ἐνεφάνισαν, which seems to be the reading of the stone, a friend inclines to conjecture ἐστεφάνωσαν; but this seems too magnificent a word. The text may be right.

34. Inscription from Serpent Island, off the mouth of the Danube. "The inscription was on the end of a quadrangular block of white marble, 4 feet 9 inches long, 2 feet broad, and 1 foot 6 high; having two holes on the top, as if for the feet of a statue, and a groove for an iron brace at the end. It was lying on the top of the island, close to the lighthouse, and I think *in situ*. The inscription, being on the side or end that was half buried in the earth, was not seen by me for some time, not until I had this, and some other blocks close to it removed." (Captain Spratt, in a letter.) Honorary inscription erected by the people of Olbia to some benefactor, who appears to have been connected with the island.

Two lines not legible.

. . . . . και . . . . . .
. . . . . τῶν Ἑλλήνων
. . . . . μεθ' αὐτὸν (?) ἐκ τῶν

[ἐ]ξέβαλεν καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν
[καὶ πράξας πο]λλὰ καὶ μεγάλα χρήσιμος γέγονεν τῷ
[δήμῳ τῶν Ὀλ]βιοπολιτῶν· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ δῆμος
[πρόξενον ἐποίησε]ν καὶ ζῶντα ἐτίμησεν δωρεαῖς
[πολλαῖς, καὶ τ]ελευτήσαντα ἔθαψεν δημοσίᾳ
[ἐν μνημείῳ ἐ]ν τῷ φ[ραγ]μῷ (?) τῶν Ὀλβιοπολιτῶν
[καὶ ἀνέστησεν] αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα, ὅπως ἂν αἵ τε πράξεις
[τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔν]τιμοι γένωνται, καὶ ἡ πόλις φανερ[ὸν
[ποιήσῃ πᾶσι τοῖ]ς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι καὶ τῆς νήσου πολ-
[λὴν σπουδὴν] ποεῖται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ
. . . . . νους . . . . . ζῶντας (?) . .
. . . . . [πολλαπλ]ασίας ἀποδίδωσι.

The inscription is manifestly faint from the large number of miscopied letters, especially in the lower part. φραγμῷ looks rather suspicious; but it is not easy to get anything nearer the *ductus literarum*, φρουρίῳ had also occurred to me as possible. μεθ' αὐτὸν, and καὶ τῆς νήσου appear to be tolerably clear in the copy; but they also engender doubts. It may be, however, that the Olbiopolitans say that they wish to honour the island itself, as well as the man who belonged to it. Captain Spratt has given an account of this island, (δρόμος Ἀχιλλέως) which was dedicated to Achilles, in the 'Nautical Magazine.'[3]

35. From Amorgos, near Naxos, on a fragment of Parian marble.

Captain Spratt, besides giving his own copy, has favoured me with an impression on paper, from which it clearly appears that it is mostly accurate. The letters, however, are in part faint, more especially in the last three lines; their form shows them to be late. Scarcely any sense can be extorted from

[3] Read before the Geographical Society of London, June 8, 1857.

so meagre a fragment. The inscription may have been in hexameter verse. We seem to have the following words:

. . μούνη καὶ πρώτη . . . .
. . καὶ οὐκέτι μοι μῦθον . . .
ω γὰρ πάσας τὰς σω . . .
τιν καὶ Πηνελόπε[ιαν] . . .
οὔτινα μεῖζον . . .

In the penultimate line, which cannot be quite accurately copied by Captain Spratt, the *ductus litterarum* agrees with *ΠΗΝΕΛΟΠΕ*.

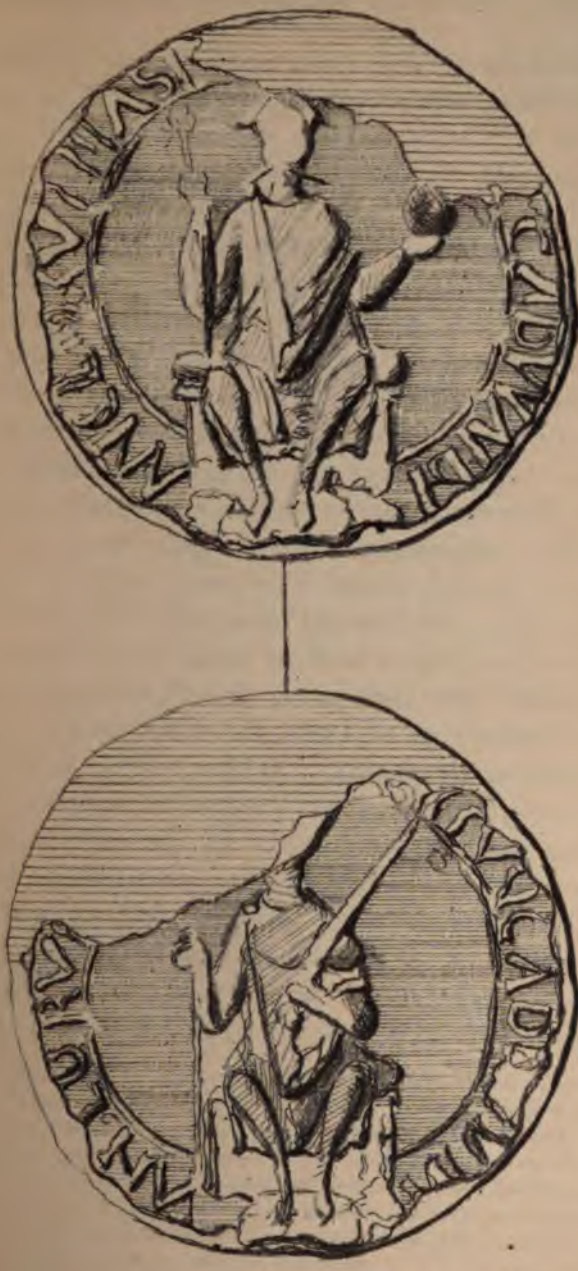
VI.—ON THE THREE GREAT SEALS OF KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH.

(Read November 23, 1870.)

It will be denied by few, if any, that the practical use of seals came from France into England about the middle of the eleventh century. We have, it is true, the authentic seals of Offa, A.D. 790, and of Eadgar, A.D. 960, of which, with the documents to which they are attached, Sir Frederic Madden has given us a lucid and interesting description in the 'Archæological Journal' (xiii. 366), but, with the exception of these (which may be from rings) and a few others, some of which present a very suspicious appearance, there are no genuine examples of an English seal of importance previous to the reign of Edward the Confessor. He, with his pious mother, Ælfgivu Emma, passed a great portion of his younger days in France, and we may with fairness attribute to this circumstance the reason of his adoption of a seal of majesty, or great seal, in imitation of his royal neighbour, upon his assumption of sovereign power. In the early part of June, A.D. 1041, a few days prior to the death of his half-brother Harthacnut, or Hardicanute, king of Denmark and England, he

FIRST SEAL OF EDWARD THE CONFESS



SECOND SEAL OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

was elected to the throne; his solemn coronation took place at Winchester on Easter Sunday, April 3, 1043, and his death at the commencement of the most eventful year in the annals of England, January 5, 1066.

During his reign three great seals were used, resembling each other in general appearance, but varying sufficiently in detail to demonstrate the evident fact of their proceeding from distinctly separate matrices. These seals represent a remarkable combination of Byzantine, Saxon, and Gallic art, being similar in many points to the seals of the French kings,[1] and the spirited delineations of figures still preserved in some of the finest Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. One important deviation, however, demands notice; it is, that all the known examples of the seals are appended by strip labels, or silk laces, to their respective documents, whereas the French great seals were affixed *en placard*,—King Louis, *Le Jeune*, being the first to append his seals in A.D. 1141. This latter arrangement also obtained in Germany at the period, although the seals of Charles, *Le Gros*, A.D. 881–888, and Louis III., *L'Empereur*, A.D. 899–911, had counter-seals. The English method of suspension, then, appears to have originated in Edward the Confessor's seals, in advance of the mode, at that time common, of affixing a mass of wax to the surface of the parch-

[1] These seals contrast favourably with those of the contemporary kings, Henry I., A.D. 1031–1060, and Philip I., A.D. 1060–1108; yet they present so strongly marked a resemblance in the general manner of treatment, that it is impossible not to acknowledge a powerful influence of the French art over the English at this period. The English seal-engravers of the middle ages, however, soon struck out an independent line of work, and their productions are in every respect superior to the French, as an inspection of the seals of any contemporary monarchs of these nations will indicate.

ment, and this was probably suggested by the process in use in those more southern parts of the Continent where suspended bullæ of lead performed the office of the waxen seal.

I. Of the first seal no less than eleven original impressions are known, distributed in the following localities:—

Five in the British Museum.

Five in Westminster Abbey.

One in possession of the Earl of Winchilsea (1862).

Engravings of this type will be found in various editions of Speed's 'History,' *sub regno;* in the 'Pictorial History of England,' 1837, vol. i. p. 203; in the 'Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique: Sceaux des Rois et Reines d'Angleterre,' Paris, fol., 1835, pl. i. figg. 1. 1.; and in Wailly's 'Éléments de Paléographie,' Paris, 1838, vol. ii. pl. R. fig. i.[2]

Obverse (Pl. I. fig. 1) the king with a beard and moustaches, habited in a closely fitting undercoat and trousers, over which is a loose and flowing robe which falls in elegant folds between his knees, and is gathered up by a button upon the right shoulder, extends and elevates either arm, bent at the elbow; in the right hand he holds a sceptre terminated at the summit with a trefoil, with the left he grasps an orb. He is seated upon a cushion placed on a plain throne without back, showing sets of parallel lines, probably

[2] Cf. also Brit. Mus., MS. Lansdowne, 860, fo. 366, for a very rough tricking of what seems to be this seal's reverse. The opening sentence of the charter, there said to be in possession of William Camden, and now in the collection of Cottonian Charters, vii. 13 (but unfortunately without its seal), identifies it with that printed in full by Kemble, 'Codex Diplomaticus,' vol. iv. p. 201, no. 843, from the following avowed sources:—Autogr. in Bibl. Cotton.; Hickes, Thes. vol. i. p. 158; MS. Cotton., Faustina A. III. fo. 108 *b*. Cf. also Brit. Mus., MS. Addit. 5937, fo. 96 *b*; 6728, fo. 1, and MS. Harl. 39, fo. 1.

intended to represent boarding or panel-work; his feet rest upon a projecting footboard. The legend is:—

✠SIGILLVM EADVVARDI ANGLORV BASILEI.

"Sigillum Eaduuardi Anglorum Basilei."

Reverse (Pl. I. fig. 2). The king is represented with more pointed beard and with moustaches, wearing a closely fitting undercoat and trousers, over which is a bordered cloak gathered up by a button upon the right shoulder; on his head is a crown fleury; in his right hand, extended upwards from the elbow, the "sceptre of mercy," terminated at the summit by a bird, probably a dove, *contourné;* in his left hand, which is brought forward covering his breast and extending upwards from the elbow, a long sword held in bend sinister. He is seated on a cushion upon a throne without back, grooved to represent panel-work, and enriched with two small pedestals in front. The legend is:—

✠SIGILLVM EADVVARDI ANGLORVM BASILEI.

"Sigillum Eaduuardi Anglorum Basilei."

Diameter $2\frac{15}{16}$ in.

IMPRESSIONS.

1. In rich brown wax, fairly preserved but slightly bent, appended by a strip of vellum, partially cut from the original Charter xxxiv. 1, in the British Museum, apparently of a date between A.D. 1053 and August 1, 1065.[3]

[3] This charter has been printed by Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 221, no. 873, and the editors of the 'Monasticon' in an incorrect form, from a Westminster cartulary, MS. Cotton., Faustina A. III. fo. 109, wherein it has been roughly

2. In rich brown wax, the central portion of the reverse alone preserved, the rest obliterated; not attached to any document, but showing a small piece of a parchment label.—Brit. Mus., Detached Seals, xxxiv. 2 *a*.

3. In blackish-brown wax on the obverse, rich chocolate brown on reverse, in fair preservation, but the upper part is melted and warped by fire; this also is detached, but shows the remains of a label.—Same source xxxiv. 2 *b*.

4. In dark greenish-brown wax, cracked and injured by fire, appended by a closely woven cord of faded silk, perhaps originally red, now enclosed in a turned rim of black wood.—Brit. Mus., Cottonian Charter, xvii. 5. This charter is blank, and in all likelihood never belonged to the seal.

5. A cast in lead, finely preserved, from a very

transcribed by a thirteenth-century hand from the original of which I here give, for the first time, the correct text; the words in many instances are blurred out of the parchment by the action of fire or water:—

+ Eadpærd kýng gret ægelmær . b' . ⁊ Harold eorl . ⁊ Gýrð eorl . ⁊ Leofstan abb' . ⁊ ealle mine þecgnas in | to suðfolce freo[ndl]ice . ⁊ ic cýðe eóþ þ ic pille beon þæs landes purðe æt iccapurðe spá full . ⁊ spá forð | spá gepitnesse hæfð to geboran . þ crist . ⁊ sce peter . ⁊ ic hit ondrihte agen into þære haligan stoppe | æt pestmunstre . ⁊ ic pille þ man hit geride me to handa spa hraðe spá [þis] geprit her nu gerædd beo . | þ nan oðer ne sý . ⁊ sýððan gif þær hpa on specan pille . ic pille spá andsparian fore . spá spá mannan þinceð | þ riht lage sý. God eóþ ealle gehealde . sce petres holde.

Æthelmær was Bishop of Elmham from A.D. 1047 to 1070:—Harold was Earl of Kent in A.D. 1053, on the death of his father Godwine; he became king on the death of Edward:—Earl Gyrth's date is not well established, but he is known to have taken part in the battle of Hastings. An interesting account of his fate, and a curious tale in connection with it, will be found in Sir Henry Ellis's 'Introduction to Domesday Book,' vol. ii. p. 134, note. Leofstan, Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's, dates from A.D. 1044 to Kal. Aug. 1065.

good original impression, whose whereabouts are at present unknown. It is numbered xxxiv. 3, among the detached seals in the British Museum, and may possibly derive its origin from the document in the Archives of France, no. 9997, which is dated 1059. The engravings in the Trésor and in Wailly are from this identical specimen.

6. In reddish-brown wax, imperfect, appended by strands of crimson silk to a *forged* charter of the king to the Monastery at Westminster, now in a glass case in the muniment room of the Abbey. The charter, which is of the eleventh century, is printed by Kemble, Col. Dipl. iv. no. 824, and in Dugdale's 'Monasticon Anglicanum,' vol. i. p. 295, col. 2, to p. 297, col. 2. It is professedly dated 5 Kal. Jan. 1066, that is, 28 December, 1065.

7. In reddish-white wax, imperfect, appended by a strip partially cut from the deed to a fine original Anglo-Saxon charter of the king to the same abbey. There are no data to limit the period in which the deed may have been made.—Westminster Collection, xvii. (17.)[4]

[4] This charter appears here for the first time in print. It is not to be found either in the 'Codex Diplomaticus,' or the 'Monasticon Anglicanum.' By the kind permission of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster I am enabled to print it here from the original, which is unfortunately imperfect.

+ Eadpard Kýng . . . . . nceastre. ⁊ pulfpold. abb'. on cýrteséiæ. ⁊ Leofpine eo . . . . . | ⁊ tosti huskarll . ⁊ eall . . . . . [su] ðréie. ýmle ða ðe beoð to cumene . ealsæ' ða ðe nu synd . . . . . | ðet þ plóttlandes æt Clæigate [lig]ge nu heononforð ínn to sce petre æt pestmýnstre . mid ælc ðere þing . . . . . | mid ðam þriddan treoppe on kýngespude ón ditune . ⁊ mid ðam þriddan æ'ere . ⁊ mid æ'lc ðere þridde ny . . . . . | on púde . ⁊ ón felde . ón læ'se . ⁊ on æ'uesæ' . on merisce . ⁊ ón mæduen . ón peren . ⁊ on pæ'tere . scót frí . ⁊ gáfoll frí of . . . . . | ⁊ of dænegelde . ⁊ of calles cýnnes ðingæ . spá full . ⁊ spa forð . ⁊ spa fréo ! spá Tosti eorll . ⁊ Leofrun his þif min fostermoder hit fý . . . . . | ⁊ ðider ínn becpæðen .

8. In red wax, hard and brittle, imperfect, appended by a strip of parchment partially cut from the deed, a fine charter of the king to the Abbey. The date appears to be between A.D. 1053 and 1066.—Westminster Collection, xiv. (4.)[5]

9. In red wax, very imperfect, appended in a similar manner to the original Anglo-Saxon deed of the king to the Abbey, the date of which appears to lie between A.D. 1041 and 1050.—Westminster Collection, xi. (1.)[6]

on ócó ýrfðe . ⁊ íc ðes fullice geúðe . for minre saule . ⁊ for hiere . ⁊ for calle cpiken . ⁊ for calle deaden to alesenness[e .] | ⁊ íc ánn hcom ðer ofer sákæ . ⁊ sócne . tóll . ⁊ teám . infangeneðeof . blodpite . ⁊ pearpite . hamsocne ⁊ forsteall . ⁊ calle ða oðre gerihte ! ðe to | me belimpað . God eop calle gehealde . sc'e petres holde.

This charter acquaints us with the interesting fact, not generally known, that Leofrun, the wife of Earl Tostig, was the fostermother of King Edward.

Wulfwold, Abbot of Chertsey, fl. temp. Edw.;—ob. xiii. Kal. Mai. A.D. 1084 (A. S. Chron.); Leofwine, Earl of Kent, son of Earl Godwine, who died in A.D. 1053, fell at Hastings, A.D. 1066; Tostig, another son of Earl Godwine, became Earl of Northumbria in A.D. 1055, was expelled in A.D. 1065, and died at Stamford Bridge, A.D. 1066.

[5] This charter has been printed as yet only from the incorrect copy in Faustina, A. III. fo. 109, by Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 216, no. 863, and by Dugdale, Mon. Angl. i. 299, col. 2, no. xxv.

+ Eadpard kýng gret pulfpi . b' . ⁊ norðman scirgerefan . ⁊ ælfpine merefinnes sunu . ⁊ calle mine þeignes on hamtun | scire frendlice . ⁊ ic kýþe eop þ ic habbe gegifen criste ⁊ sc'e petre into pestmýnstre Roteland ⁊ eall þ þær to herð . | mid saca . ⁊ mid socne . mid tolle . ⁊ mid teame . ⁊ on callan ðingan . spa full . ⁊ spa forð spa hit me silfan on handa | stod . ⁊ ic ánn þ eadgiþ seo hlefdige hit on hande habbe spa lange spa heo libbe . ⁊ ælce gere þ munster þær of | gegodige . God eop geh'.

Wulfwi, Bishop of Dorchester, A.D. 1053–1067; Eadgith, daughter of Earl Godwine, was married to the king in June, A.D. 1044; ob. 18 Dec. A.D. 1075.

[6] Printed as yet only from the same incorrect MS., fo. 105, *b.* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 191, no. 828, where the date 1066 is given, though unsupported by any evidence; and in the 'Monasticon,' i. 298, col. 2, no. xiv.:—

+ Eadpard kýng gret . Ædsi . arceb' . ⁊ Godpine . b' . on rouancestre . ⁊ Leofpine eorll on Kent . ⁊ Esgar stallere . ⁊ Rodb' pimarche | sunu stallere . ⁊

10. A small white flaky fragment of the centre of the seal, similarly appended to the original charter of the king granting certain liberties to the Abbey. The date is doubtful.—Same source, xix. (9.)[7]

11. Another imperfect one, appended by a silk lace to a *forged* charter of the king to Westminster Abbey, dated 5 Kal. Jan. 1066, that is, 28 December, 1065, now in the possession of the Earl of Winchilsea. This forgery is of the end of the eleventh century, and is printed in the 'Monasticon,' i. 293, col. 1 to 295, col. 1.

II. The second seal, which, as far as I know, has never yet been noticed or engraved, is much rarer.

ealle mine þeignas on Kent frendlice . Ic cýðe eop þ ic pille þ þæt cotlif Leosne þe Ætsere ahte . ⁊ becpæð criste ⁊ | sc'e petre into pestmýnstre . ligge nu ðider ínn . to ðæra muneca fodan . mid eallū ðæra ðingū þe þær to hýreð . on pude . ⁊ on felde . | on mæ'de. ⁊ on pæ'tere . ⁊ on ealle oðre þingū . scót fréo . ⁊ gáfol fréo . on scíre . ⁊ on hundrede . spá fúl . ⁊ spá forð . spá he hít sc'e petre | becpæð . ic ðes fullice geude . ⁊ íc nelle nateshpon geðafian þ þær ænig mánn ænigne onstýng habbe on ænigū þingū . oððe on ænigū | timan . buton sé abb' . ⁊ ða gebroðra to ðes mýnstres nýtpurðlicre þearfe . ⁊ ic ánn . þ sc'e peter habbe ouer ðam saca . ⁊ socna . tóll . ⁊ teám . | ínfangeneþeóf . ⁊ ealle oðre gerihte þe to me belimpað . God eóp gehealde . ⁊ sc'e petres holde.

Ædsi was Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1038–1050; Godwine, Bishop of Rochester, ob. A.D. 1058 or 1061; Leofwine, Earl of Kent, son of Earl Godwine, ob. A.D. 1066.

[7] Printed as yet only from the same corrupt MS. fo. 110, in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 228, no. 889, and the 'Monasticon,' i. 300, col. i. no. xxviii. cf. xxxi.

+ Eadpard kýng gret [þel min]e biscopas . ⁊ mine eorlas . ⁊ ealle mine ðegnas on þā scýrā þær sc'e Péter | into pestmýnstre hafað [lande] inne . ⁊ mænn . freondlice . ⁊ Ic kýðe eop þ ic hæbbe gegýfen hým on | eallū hýs lande . saca . ⁊ socna . toll . ⁊ team . infangeneþeof . ⁊ flýmene fýrmþe . griðbrice . ⁊ hāsoc | ne . ⁊ foresteall . ⁊ ealle oðre gerihtu . inne tíd . ⁊ ut of tíd . binna burh . ⁊ butan burh . on stræte . ⁊ of | stræte . spa full . ⁊ spa forð spa hi me sýlfon fýrmest on handan stodon . ⁊ Ic nelle geþafian þ ænig | mann hæbbe ænigne onstýng ofer hýs land ne ofer hýs mænn be strande ne be lande . ne on puda | ne on felda . buton se abbod ⁊ þa gebroðra to ðæs mýnstres neode . God eop ealle gehealde . Amen.

There is one original impression in the British Museum, and the cast of another, the original of which is thought to exist in the French collections. There is also a fragment of what seems to be this seal in Westminster Abbey.

Obverse (Pl. II. fig. 1), the king—full face with beard and moustaches, habited in flowing drapery, reaching nearly to the ankles, and gathered up by a button or buckle upon the right shoulder, his arms and feet apparently bare, on his head a crown fleury—holds up in his right hand a sceptre terminating at the summit with three roundles; in his left he grasps a mound or orb; he is seated on a cushion upon a plain throne without back; beneath his feet is an uncertain object, perhaps a footstool. The legend is:—

. . . . . ЄADVVARDI ANGLORVM BASI . . .

"Sigillum Eaduuardi Anglorum Basilei."

Reverse (Pl. II. fig. 2), the king—with smaller beard and moustaches, habited in closely fitting sleeves and short trousers, over which is a flowing tunic, gathered up with a button or buckle upon the right shoulder—wears a crown fleury, and elevates in his right hand a sceptre [probably terminating at the summit with a bird similar to that upon the reverse of the former seal]; in his left hand, placed in front, he holds a long sword in bend sinister; he is seated upon a plain throne without back, resting his feet upon a footstool. The legend is:—

SI . . LLVm ЄADVVARDI ANGLORVM . . . . . .

"Sigillum Eaduuardi Anglorum Basilei."[8]

[8] The word *Basileus* is constantly met with in the charters of the Saxon

Diameter 3 in.

IMPRESSIONS.

1. One is believed to exist in Paris, from which the late Mr. Doubleday made a cast; this may be that one entered as No. 9997 in a Catalogue of Seals,[9] prepared by M. Douët D'Arcq, and there stated to be appended to a document bearing the date A.D. 1059. As no mention is made of any other impression of a seal of Edward the Confessor existing in France, it is probable that this is the original from which the Doubleday cast was obtained; at the same time a very fine cast in lead of the first type exists in the Museum, which has certainly no prototype in our national collections, and this may have its origin from the above-mentioned document in the French archives.

2. The second, and, till within a few days, the only one known in England, is in hard yellowish-red wax, with the edges rubbed away, and apparently varnished. The deed to which it is appended by a narrow strip, partially cut from the body of the charter, is numbered xxi. 5, among the Campbell Charters in the British Museum. The internal evi-

period, as a mere glance at the 'Codex Diplomaticus' of Kemble will show. The pedantic love of Greek words among the Saxons rioted luxuriantly in the most bombastic and sesquipedalian phrases of their royal documents, especially towards the end of their rule. William of Malmesbury, speaking of the simplification of Boethius, 'De Consolatione Philosophiæ,' by Asser, bishop of Sherborne, at the desire of King Ælfred, demonstrates the proficiency of the learned of his day over those of the ninth century, in these words:—"Asserus . . . non usquequaque contempnendæ scientiæ fuit, qui librum Boetii . . . planioribus verbis elucidavit, *labore illis diebus necessario, nostris ridiculo.*"—'Gesta Pontificum,' ed. Hamilton: 1870, p. 177.

[9] 'Ministère d'État—Archives de l'Empire; Inventaires et Documents Publiés par ordre de l'Empereur; Collection de Sceaux,' par M. Douët D'Arcq. Paris, 1863–1867.

dence afforded by it places its date after A.D. 1052 the year of Stigand's usurpation of the archiepiscopate, two years after the resignation of Ædsi, or Eadsige, in whose time the other type of seal was certainly in use, as has been shown already.[10]

3. A small fragment in flaky white wax, of what appears to be the central part of this seal, appended by a strip partially cut from the original Anglo-Saxon charter of the king to the Abbey. The date must be comprised between A.D. 1053 and 1066.—Westminster Collection, xii. (2).[11]

III. The third seal (Pl. III.), which I fortunately discovered a short time ago, is very similar in type to

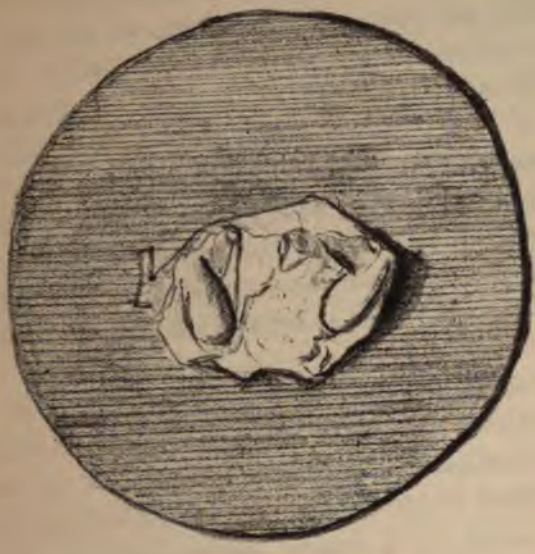
[10] As the editors of the 'Monasticon' have overlooked this charter, and Kemble has only given a Latin version of it, I venture to transcribe it here:—

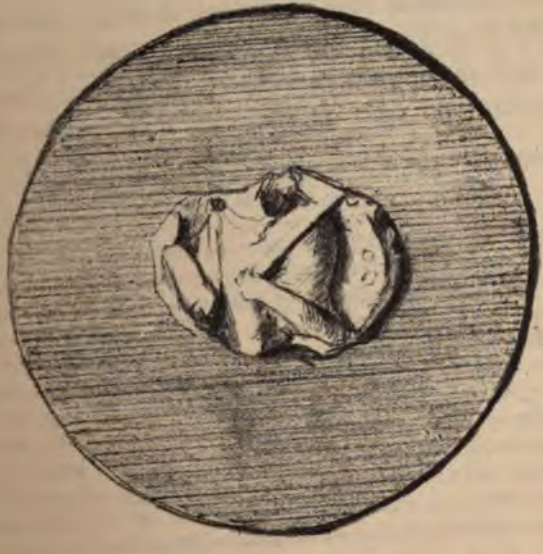
+ Eadpeard cýnge gret ealle mine b'es . ⁊ mine eorlas . ⁊ mine gerefan . ⁊ ealle mine | þegenas on þam sciran þær Stigande arceb' . ⁊ se hired æt cristes cýrcean on cantpara | býrig habbað land inne freondlice . ⁊ ic cýðe eop þ ic habbe him geunnan þ hi beon | heora saca ⁊ socne purþe . on strande . ⁊ on streame . on pudan . ⁊ on feldan . tolnes ⁊ teames . | griþbrices ⁊ hamsocne . forestealles . ⁊ infangenesþeoues . ⁊ flemena fermþe ouer hera agene | menn binnanburgan ⁊ butan spa full ⁊ spa forth spa mine agene picneras hit secan | scoldan . ⁊ ouer spa fela þegena . spa ic heom togelætan hæbbe . ⁊ ic nelle þ æni man | æni þing þær onfeo butan hy ⁊ heora picneras þe hi hit betæcan pýllaþ . for | þan þingan þe ic habbe þas gerihta forgiuen minre saple to ecere alýsednesse . | spa cnut cýng ær dýde . ⁊ ic nelle geþauian þ æni man þis tobrece be mina freondscipe.

Stigand became bishop of Elmham in A.D. 1043, of Winchester in A.D. 1047; on the outlawry of Robert in A.D. 1052 (Angl. Sax. Chron. *sub an.*), he usurped the archiepiscopate of Canterbury, but was deposed by the Council of Winchester, 4 April, 1070, and imprisoned until his death, which took place A.D. 1087.

[11] This charter has been printed as yet only from the incorrect transcript in MS. Cott., Faustina, A. III. f. 109 *b.* by Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 201, no. 84[illegible] and the editors of Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' i. 300, col. i. no. xxvi.

+ Eadpeard cýnge gret leofpine . b' . ⁊ eadpine eorl . ⁊ ealle mi[ne þe]gn[illegible] on stæffordscire | freondlice . ⁊ ic kyþe eop þ ic habbe gegifan criste ⁊ se[illegible] petre into pestmýnstre þ land æt pertune | ⁊ ælc þæra þinga þæs þe þær inn t[illegible] herð on puda ⁊ on felda mid saca [⁊] mid socne spa full ⁊ spa | forð spa hi[illegible] me sylfan on handa stod on eallan þingan . þan abbude to [b]igleofan ⁊ þan[illegible]





THIRD SEAL OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

the second seal; only a very close comparison will enable any one to detect the fact, that the matrices differed in a few points. The single example as yet known is unhappily a small white flaky fragment containing the centre of the seal, appended by a strip partially cut from the body of the original charter of the king to Westminster Abbey. The date that may be assigned to it is not easily to be settled, but the internal evidence seems to point to the concluding years of King Edward's reign.—Westminster Collection, xv. (5).[12]

The following table represents the chief points of remark exhibited by the fifteen known specimens of Edward the Confessor's seals. The method of appension, designated by the term strip, is made thus: a narrow piece of vellum, about $\frac{1}{8}$ in. wide, is cut along the lower border of the charter, beginning at the right-hand and stopping about an inch from the left-hand side; this is left free, and a second strip, parallel to the first but wider, from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch broad, is prepared in a similar manner, and upon this the seal is fixed in such a position that the piece of

gebroþraN | þe binnen þam mýnstre puniað . 7 ic nýlle nane men geþafian þ þær geutige ænig þæra þinga | þær þe þær in to hyrð.

Leofwine, Bishop of Lichfield, A.D. 1053–1067; ? Eadwine, son of Ælfgar the earl, ob. A.D. 1071, probably not earl before A.D. 1064.

[12] This charter has been overlooked by Kemble, and the editors of the 'Monasticon Anglicanum.'

+ Eadpeard cýnge gret pel mine . býscopes 7 abbedes . 7 ealle mine þegenes . on pigerceastre scire . 7 on gleapcestre | scire freondlice . 7 ic kýþe eop þ ic habbe gegýfen criste 7 sc'e petre into pestmýnstre þa land perscoran 7 deor | hýrsta . 7 eall þ þær to herð mid saca 7 mid socna . mid tolle 7 mid teame on stræte 7 of stræte . on pude 7 on | felde . 7 on eallan þingan . spa ful 7 spa forþ spa hit me sýlfan fýrþmest on handa stod . 7 ic nelle þ þær | æni mann ænig onstýnge habbe . butan se abbod 7 þa gebroðra to sc'e petres niode . 7 godes bletsunga | sýo mid ælc þara manna þe seo hold into þā halgan mýnstre.

vellum remains firmly fixed in the mass of wax, and has its end hanging out about an inch and a half from the edge of the seal:—

Type.	Number.	Original colour of wax.	Method of sealing.	Date.
First.	1.	Brownish-red.	Strip.	1053 × 1065.
"	2.	"	"	(*Detached*).
"	3.	"	"	"
"	4.	"	Silk cords.	"
"	5.	? (*lead*).	?	1059 ?
"	6.	Brownish-red.	Silk cords.	1065 (*forgery*).
"	7.	White.	Strip.	?
"	8.	Brownish-red.	"	1053 × 1066.
"	9.	"	"	1041 × 1050.
"	10.	White.	"	?
"	11.	?	Silk cords.	1065 (*forgery*).
Second.	1.	? (*cast*).	?	1059 ?
"	2.	Yellowish-red.	Strip.	1052 × 1066.
"	3.	White.	"	1053 × 1066.
Third.	1.	"	"	*c.* 1065 ?

VII.—ON THE GREAT SEALS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH.

(Read December 21, 1870.)

In the account of the three great seals used during the reign of Edward the Confessor, which I had the honour of communicating to the Society a short time ago, I pointed out the fact that the Sainted Monarch introduced the practical use of seals from France into England.[1] His ill-starred successor, Harold II., Earl of Kent, son of Earl Godwine, does not appear ever to have employed a specific seal; the turbulence of the short time between the death of Edward and the coming of Duke William probably prevented any attempt at renewing the great seal of Edward, which was in all likelihood kept in use, if, indeed, it was ever required, during the eventful year 1066.

William, surnamed the *Bastard*, and later the *Conqueror*, was born in 1027;[2] succeeded his father, Robert the *Devil*, Duke of the Normans, in 1035; married Matilda, daughter of Baldwin V., Earl of Flanders, in 1056; and, according to the best accounts afforded by the chronicles, assumed sovereign power in England immediately after the success of his arms

at Hastings, on the 14th of October, 1066, although his solemn coronation as king did not take place until Christmas Day in the same year. His death took place on the 9th of September, 1087, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, says William of Malmesbury,[3] the twenty-first of his reign, and the fortieth of his earldom. It does not appear an established fact, whether he used a seal as Duke of the Normans, between 1035 and 1066, or not; none, at all events, are known to be now in existence, nor are any mentioned by the old writers on seals; and judging from the rare use of seals at this early period, and the almost exclusive appropriation of them to sovereign dignities, it is most natural to conjecture that he did not employ a seal before his accession to the throne of England. No doubt, however, exists that two[4] distinctly different *matrices* or moulds of great seals were prepared for him during his reign, and I propose to give some account of the impressions of these yet remaining to us, and to endeavour to determine the order in which they were made, as well as to elucidate some errors which have been made respecting them.

A comparison of the seals with those of Edward the Confessor places in prominent contrast several interesting facts connected with this early period of the art. Edward is *Anglorum Basileus*,[5] that is, king of the English; and as such, in every instance of portraiture, is seated in regal majesty upon a throne, and adorned with the attributes of a king. William, on the other hand, is *Normannorum patronus*, duke of the Normans, if we may consider the word *patronus* synonymous with *dux*, and merely introduced to suit

the metre; as such he is represented on his seals as a knight, or feudal lord, mounted on a war-horse, in battle array, upon the obverse or principal side. Inasmuch as he obtained his kingdom at a subsequent period, so on the reverse, or secondary portion of the seal, it is that he appears as *Anglis Regem*, king of the English.[6] In future times, when the signification of this alternate representation had become forgotten from long usage, the side of the seal whereon the king of England sat as a mounted baron came to be considered the inferior side, and hence we meet with legends, or titular inscriptions, commencing upon the royal side, and concluding upon the baronial side in the eighteenth century, although we have here before us, in the seals of William the Conqueror, direct proof of the fact, that the baronial effigy must be taken as the chief one, for the legend commences on this side, and runs over to the other in grammatical sequence. Cromwell retained only the equestrian figure, substituting the newly devised armorial bearings for England and the dependent kingdoms, heraldically displayed in the place which had, up to his time, contained a figure of the sovereign enthroned. As in the case of Edward's seals, so also here, the difference between the moulds is very small and likely to be overlooked by a casual observer; this no doubt was done on purpose to avoid disputes which a manifest difference of type might have occasioned. Again, the artistic treatment, style of conception, quantity and fineness of detail, and general effect, are fairly in advance of the respective qualities shown forth in the seals of the contemporary French and German monarchs,[7] which, in regard to these,

bear a subordinate but somewhat similar resemblance.

One of the most interesting points which these venerable objects of antiquity present to us is the legend they bear, a hexametric distich in Leonine rhyme:—

> "Hoc Normannorum Willelmum nosce patronum,
> Si hoc Anglis Regem signo fatearis eundem."

The word *si* commencing the second verse is introduced into the obverse after *patronum*, though its proper place, speaking with regard both to the metre and sense, should be at the commencement of the second line, in the reverse. Wailly, in his 'Elémens de Paléographie,' describing this seal, considers *si* to be a contraction for *signo*, and reads thus:—

> "Hoc Normannorum Willelmum nosce patronum signo."

The author of the French 'Trésor' considers *si* to stand for *sigillo*, and, with total disregard for the cross or stop, would read the legend in this manner:—

> "Sigillo hoc Normannorum Willelmum nosce patronum."

Yet there are many and imperative objections to either of these views: (i.) the contractions of this nature do not obtain in any royal seals of England before the Stuart period, the seventeenth century;[8] (ii.) the adoption of *signo* or *sigillo* upsets the metre, and destroys the asonant rhythm which ends at *patronum*; (iii.) the subjunctive verb *fatearis* can only be introduced by a conjunction, and *si* is evidently intended to act in this capacity. It must be granted, notwithstanding, that the elision of *si* before *hoc* is wretchedly poor, and hardly within our ideas of poetic licence, though many cases of equal harshness

can be picked from the best classics; the writer of the verses may possibly have been able to pronounce them in such a manner as to be less grating to the eleventh-century ear than it is to that of the nineteenth century.

A careful search of some time leads me to believe that we have original impressions, of the first type five, thus distributed:—

Three in the British Museum.

One in Westminster Abbey.

One in Chapter House, Hereford.

(A cast in the B. M.)

Of the second type four, distributed in the following locality:—

One in the British Museum.

One in the French Archives at Paris.

(A cast in the B. M.)

One in Westminster Abbey.

One at St. Stephen's, Caen.

One more, of doubtful type, at Canterbury, makes up the total number of ten original specimens,—no inconsiderable number, considering the perishable nature of the material and the length of time that has elapsed since they were made. Many, doubtless, perished in the numerous fires which destroyed many a noble religious edifice. A few more may yet be brought to light when the work inaugurated, a short time back, by the Government Commissioners for reporting upon the various private collections of historical evidences, begins to bear fruit.

Obverse of the First Seal. (Diameter $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

The king wearing a coat of mail and conical

helmet, his right and only visible foot wearing a spur, holds in his right hand a long lance armed with three streamers, in his left a kite-shaped shield, held by the guige or strap, and presenting to view the interior side. He is mounted upon a charger galloping to the left, whose trappings consist of a small plain saddle, poitrail or breast-band, girth, head-gear, and stirrup. Between two dotted annuli the legend runs thus:—

✠ ꝺOC . NORMANNORVM . WILLELMVM . NOZCE . PATRONVM . ZI.

Reverse of the First Seal.

The king wearing a crown fleury of three trefoiled points, and a loose robe falling down in ample folds between his knees, with his arms and feet apparently bare, holds out both arms extended and elevated from the elbow, in the right hand a sword erect, in the left an orb, or mound, ensigned with a cross pattée fitchée. He is seated on a throne without back, ornamented with finial knobs or cushions on the seat, and at the base with three small arches,[9] the throne rests upon a plinth similarly adorned with arches in nearly vertically corresponding positions. Between two surrounding annuli of dots is the continuation of the legend:—

✠ HOC . ANGLIZ . REGEM . ZIGNO . FATEARIZ . EVNDEM.

Impressions of the First Seal.

1. Brownish-red wax; the edges imperfect and repaired with new wax; parts of the legends wanting. (British Museum, detached seals, xxix. 8.) No date

FIRST SEAL *OF WILLIAM* THE CONQUEROR

assigned, probably appended at one time to a charter by a strip label.

2. Dark brown wax, very much injured, the obverse nearly obliterated by the action of the Cottonian fire, appended by a red silk cord closely plaited or woven, stitched with thread to the vellum of the Cottonian charter vi. 3,[10] British Museum. Dated A.D. 1067.

3. Fragments in a hard reddish-brown wax, appended by a closely-woven or plaited silk cord, apparently green when new. Now enclosed in a bag or cover of diapered taffeta. The unfortunate condition of this seal renders it very difficult to frame any opinion as to which of the matrices it derives its origin from. It appears to incline more towards the first type. (Westminster Collections, xxvii. 6.[11]) Dated A.D. 1070.

4. Original impression in brown wax, with its edges injured in many places, appended by a strip label. (British Museum, Additional Charters, 11205.) The date appears to be before A.D. 1072.[12] Casts in sulphur from this original exist in the Doubleday Collection. (British Museum, detached seal, D.C., A. 9–10.)

5. Original impression in brownish-red wax, broken on one side, appended by a strip label to an original charter among the muniments of Hereford Cathedral Chapter. The date appears to be comprised between A.D. 1071 and 1072.[13] (Casts in red plaster of Paris in British Museum, Detached Seals, xliii. 47–48.)

OBVERSE OF THE SECOND SEAL. (Diameter 3¼ in.)

The king, wearing a coat of mail and conical helmet,

holds in his right hand a long lance ornamented with a banner and banderole, in his left a kite-shaped shield supported by the guige or strap, presenting to view the inner side only. He is mounted upon a charger galloping to the left, whose trappings consist of a small saddle, stirrup, poitrail or breast-band, head-gear, and reins. The legend runs thus:—

✠ ÞOC . NORMANNORVM . WILLELMVM .
NOZCE . PATRONVM . ZI.

Reverse of the Second Seal.

The king, wearing a crown fleury of three points trefoiled, and a long robe falling down in ample folds between his legs, with his arms and feet apparently covered with tightly fitting garments, extends and elevates from the elbow either arm; he holds in the right hand a sword slightly inclined towards his head, in the left hand he grasps an orb or mound ensigned with a cross pattée fitchée, also slightly inclined towards him. He is seated upon a throne without back, ornamented at the base with three small circular arches, and resting upon a plinth similarly decorated, but not in vertically corresponding positions.

The legend runs on thus from the obverse:—

✠ HOC . ANGLIZ . REGEM . ZIGNO .
FATEARIZ . EVNDEM.

Impressions of the Second Seal.

1. Original impression in white wax, flaky and indistinct, its edges totally destroyed. (British Museum,

SECOND SEAL OF *WILLIAM* THE CONQUEROR

Cottonian Charters xvi. 2.[14]) No assignable date, but probably late.

2. Original impression in the Collection of French Archives, affixed to a dated deed, A.D. 1069. 'Archives du Royaume, Section Historique,' K. 20, [Wailly]; = 'Archives de l'Empire, Collection de Sceaux,' par M. Douët d'Arcq. no. 9998. Nothing is stated respecting the contents of the accompanying charter, colour of wax, or manner of suspension. Sulphur casts of the seal were made by Mr. J. Doubleday, and are now in his Collection in the British Museum, detached seals, D.C., A. 11–12.[15]

3. Original impression in white wax, much flaked and rubbed, broken into two portions. No part of the legend remains, but the deflected position of the sword identifies this example with the second type. Appended by a strip label, and enclosed in a leathern bag of mediæval make. (Westminster Collections, xxiv. 3.[16]) Not before A.D. 1086.

4. A fine original of this type would appear to be preserved among the muniments of St. Stephen's Abbey, Caen. The date of the deed and colour of the seal have not been given in the only notice of it; but it would seem, from the engraving, to have been appended by a closely woven silk cord, plaited together.

Engravings of this type will be found in Wailly, 'Elémens de Paléographie,' Pl. R. p. 370 (my no. 2); 'Trésor de Numismatique,' etc. pl. i. f. 2.

A beautiful engraving by Basire for the 'Appendix to the Reports of the Record Commissioners,' of which there is a copy in the B. M. Additional MS. 21056, fo. 1, appears to refer more to the first type, but I am unable to speak with decision upon it.

Uncertain or inaccurate engravings of the seals of William the Conqueror are also to be met with in—

Sandford's 'Genealogical History,' pl. A.

Hewitt's 'Ancient Armour in Europe,' vol. i. p. 92.

Speed's 'Historie of England,' various editions, *sub regno*, and cuttings in MS. Harl. 39, f. 1; MS. Cotton, Vesp. F. xiii. art. 1, and Additional MS. 6728, f. 3.

'Archæological Journal,' vol. xiii. p. 109.

Add. MS. 5937, f. 56 *b*.

A. L. D'Anisy, 'Recueil de Sceaux Normands et AngloNormands . . . dans les Archives du Calvados,' pl. i. (my no. 4).

There exists in the Collection of Original Charters in Canterbury Cathedral, an impression of one of William the Conqueror's seals, appended to a deed dated A.D. 1072,[17] numbered A. 78, but I am unable to refer it to any particular type.

The following represents, in a tabular view, the principal points with regard to each seal:—

No.	Type.	Locality.	Method of appension.	Colour of Wax.	Date.
1.	First.	B. M. xxix. 8.	Strip label.	Brownish-red.	(Detached.)
2.	"	B. M. Cott. vi. 3.	Red silk lace.	"	*1067.
3.	"	Westr. xxvii. 6.	"	"	*11 Kal. Jun. 1070.
4.	"	B. M. Ad. 11205.	Strip label.	"	1071×2.
5.	"	Heref. and B. M. xliii. 47–8.	"	"	1071×2.
6.	Second.	B. M. Cott. xvi. 2.	"	White.	Late.
7.	"	Paris K. 20 et B. M. D. C. A. 11–12.	?	?	*1069.
8.	"	Westr. xxiv. 3.	Strip label.	White.	After 1085.
9.	"	Caen.	Silk lace.	?	?
10.	Uncertain.	Canterbury.	?	?	1072.

NOTES.

[1] See William Prynne: 'The Opening of the Great Seale of England,' London, 4to, 1643, p. 3. This tract contains much curious information respecting the seals of our early kings.

Notice of the first introduction of seals into England: British Museum, Addit. MS. 5881, f. 260 *b*.

The first using of seals to charters and deeds in England: MS. Harl. 4630, art. 4.

John Anstis, Garter King: General Observations on the Seals of our Kings, MS. Hargrave, 104, fol. 219.

John Anstis . . . Aspilogia, *ibid.* fol. 265. A remarkable collection of facts bearing upon the early seals of England.

Francis Drake: Introduction to Anstis's Aspilogia, Addit. MS. 11249.

[2] Correct tables of his genealogy will be found in Sandford's 'Genealogical History,' London, fol. 1707, and in Bouillet's 'Atlas Universel d'Histoire et de Géographie,' Paris, 1865.

[3] 'Gesta Regum,' edited by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, for the English Historical Society, London, 1840, vol. ii. p. 460.

The best MSS. read "twenty-first," but the earlier ones "twenty-second," intending to reckon from the death of Edward, and therefore William's right to the throne.

[4] The number of seals used by Edward the Confessor, three, corresponds with the number of his Chancellors, who probably kept the matrices in their charge. (Prynne, l. c. p. 3.)

The last of these, Raynbaldus, occ. 1066, in the Westminster Charters.

William had, however, seven of these officers, thus arranged by Dugdale in his 'Chronica Series,' 3rd edit. London, 1680, p. 1:—

1. Mauricius, postea Londoniensis Episcopus. (W. Malm., G. P.) 1067. *See* p. 22.

2. Osmundus, postea Sarum Episcopus. (Godwin, de Præss. p. 389.) *See* p. 16.

3. Arfastus, Episcopus Helmanensis. (Pat. 8 E. II. p. 1, m. 3, per inspeximus.) Occ. 1073.

4. Baldricus (*ibid.* p. 2, m. 1.)

5. Hermannus, Episcopus Scireburnensis.

6. Willelmus Welson, Capellanus regis (Chronica Roberti de Monte).

7. Willelmus Giffard, Episcopus Wintoniensis (Cart. 51, H. III. m. 1, per insp.).

[5] The Saxon delighted to employ Greek words in preference to Latin ones, and this frequently to such an extent that many of the productions of writers in this period, are simply unintelligible to one not acquainted with that language.

[6] The French kings, not being grand feudatories, had no need of, and did not use a baronial seal: hence we find upon their great seals a royal representation on the obverse, and a small counter-seal of arms upon the reverse. The entire series from Dagobert I. to Napoléon Buonaparte is beautifully engraved by the Collastype process from original impressions in the 'Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique: Sceaux des Rois,' etc. Paris, 1835.

[7] Cf. 'Trésor de Numismatique: Sceaux des Rois,' pl. ii. fig. 6; Henry I. A.D. 1031–1060:—fig. 7; Philip I. A.D. 1060–1108:—pl. iii. fig. 1; Louis VI. A.D. 1108–1137.

Seals of the German kings in the British Museum, detached seals, xli. 24–28; Henry IV. A.D. 1056–1106, and xli. 29; Rodolph, Duke of Swabia, as king, A.D. 1077–1080.

[8] The French great seals of this and other eras bear common contractions, such as *Di* for *Dei*; *Gra*, *Gratia*; *Ihu*, *Jhesu*; *Ags*, *Augustus*; *Xps* and its cases, *Christus*, etc., and a monogram [MP conjoined] for *Imperator*. The German great seals also represent most of these forms.

[9] The points of difference are only to be observed by a

areful scrutiny, and consist chiefly in the relative places of he arches, and in the perpendicular position of the sword, which is slightly deflected in the second type. Other differences will appear from measurements.

[10] This charter, which I believe has never been printed, I venture to insert here.

P/X In nomine Sanctæ et Indiuiduæ Trinitatis. Anno dominicæ incarnationis ꝏmo. lxmo. viimo. Ego Willelmus dei gratia dux Normannorum per misericordiam diuinam et auxilium beatissimi apostoli Petri pii fautoris nostri . fauente iusto dei iudicio angliam ueniens . in ore gladii regnum adeptus sum anglorum . deuicto Haroldo rege cum suis complicibus . qui mihi regnum prouidentia dei destinatum . et beneficio concessionis domini et cognati mei gloriosi regis Eadwardi concessum . conati sunt auferre. Cum ergo comperissem quod idem prędecessor meus beatæ memoriæ prędictus rex dimisisset coronam et alia regalia regni propria ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri Westmonasterii quam diuinitus pro remedio animæ suæ inspiratus in loco pęnitentiæ antiquam reedificauerat; cogitans et ipse quod dicit sapientia . stultum est non attendere ad quem finem tendas; et illud . per me reges regnant . et principes iusta decernunt; et aliud . seruire deo uere regnare est; et quia qui ęcclesiam dei honorant . cum illa . et in illa . et ex illa honorantur; decreui omnes omnino ęcclesias dei exaltare . et honorare . sed maxime illam in cuius materno utero corpus domni pręfati prędecessoris mei refotum sepulturæ requie ut cernimus requiescit; et in quá ipse oleo sanctæ unctionis perunctus . et corona regni adeo per pontificales manus primo anno uictoriæ meæ ipso die natiuitatis domini . celebriter coronatus sum. Ne ergo uacuus apparerem ante sanctum dei apoſtolum Petrum . quem pręducem et signiferum . et defensorem in omnibus necessitatibus et periculis meis senseram; et ne ingratus existerem animæ benignissimi prędicti regis qui me in regnum suum adoptiuum hęredem inſtituerat . et ut deus per suam gratiam et hanc elemosinam ſtabiliret et confirmaret regnum mihi et filiis meis et

eorum hęredibus . maxime autem ut animam meam collocare dignaretur in ęterna requie cum suis fidelibus . et ut illi sancto apostolo honorabilia deferrem munera; locum illum uisitando sollicitus fui. Propterea prima quidem uice in ipsam sanctam ingressus ęcclesiam . super altare sancti Petri . L^ta^. marcas argenti . unumque pretiosum pallium . duo uero non minoris pretij super sepulturam regis prędicti extendens optuli. Dehinc procedens super maius altare duas marcas auri et bina pallia deuotus extendi; præsentibusque episcopis . abbatibus . et cęteris optimatibus meis francis et anglis . ea quæ subscripta sunt firmiter inperpetuum habenda et possidenda concessi. Inprimis igitur cum consensu et fauore uenerabilis EADWINI abbatis et totius conuentus ipsius loci . conuentionem feci de regia possessione Windlesoran dicta; quam idem pręnominatus gloriosus rex adhuc uiuens inter cętera beneficia sua prędictæ [donau] erat ęcclesiæ. Ob hoc maxime . quoniam locus ille utilis et commodus uisus est propter contiguam aquam . et siluam uenatibus aptam . et alia plura quæ ínibi sunt regibus commoda . immo regia perhendinatione aptus exiftit. In orientalium quidem saxonum prouincia . quandam uillam Wokendune uocitatam . in Ceafforde hundredo . cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus . pro supra facta cambitione dando et concedendo prędfato beato Petro admodum libens subieci. Item in eodem etiam comitatu . in Lexedene hundredo . mansionem feringes dictam . cum territoriis . et berewicis . et omnibus appenditiis suis . et cum . xiiij^cim^. sokemannis ac terris ipsorum . et cum uno libero in thureftapele hundredo . qui tenet unam uirgatam terræ quæ ad predictam pertinet mansionem . et cum tribus domibus quæ sunt in Coleceastra . sub eadem lege . et eadem libertate ac consuetudine qua ante tenuerant Windlesoran; pro eadem causa cambitionis suprascripto sancto loco deuotus subdidi. Deinde uero similiter consentiente prędicto abbate et fratribus . pro redemptione coronæ ipsius supra memorati regis cęterorumque regalium insignium quæ illi pertinent; in regione suthregéna iuxta fluuium támisam non longe ab ipso monasterio . in brixistane hundredo manerium Batricesćie

appellatum . cum berewico sibi subiacente Wendlesuurthe cognominato . et cum omnibus territoriis et appenditiis suis quæ ad illud pertinent . secundum antiquos diu seruatos terminos perpetuo iure possidenda . tam bene et tam libere sicut egomet melius et liberius unquam ullo tempore possedi ; iam sepedictæ ęcclesiæ concedens donaui. Simili quoque modo pro prędicta commutatione in eodem comitatu . et in goddeléa hundredo . fundum piriford uocitatum . cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus . pari qua supra libertatis munificentia . eidem honorabili attribui cęnobio. Insuper etiam concessi eis uenationem omnem de silua pénceat ; quæ ad prędictam pertinet patriceséiam. In his necnon duobus maneriis dedi eis de utraque silua quæcunque sunt necessaria ad clausuras [agr]orum . et reſtructuras domorum . et ad focum faciendum . et ad omnia utensilia . et reedificationes molendinorum . absque ulla emptione . et absque ulla contradictione regiorum forestariorum . Hæc autem omnia absque omni contradictione . cum ęcclesiis . cum terris cultis et incultis . exitibus atque reditibus . uiis et inuiis . siluis . segetibus . pratis . pascuis . aquis . aquarumue decursibus . paludibus . piscationibus . piscariis . molendinis . et theloneis ad se pertinentibus . et cum omni utilitate quæ inde poterit omni tempore prouenire . et cum omnibus per girum terminis et metis suis . ab omni regia exactione . uel a qualibet humanæ seruitutis subactione liberrima . lege . libertate . consuetudine . tam bene et tam plene sicut Haroldus comes melius tenuerat die qua rex Eaduuardus uiuus fuit et mortuus . et sicut ego deuicto prędfato haroldo sub mei iuris proprio dominio contingentes . suffragatore deo regaliter possedi . consultu atque consensu primatum meorum beato Petro firmiter inperpetuum habenda concessi. Itaque prędfati loci dignitatem ad plenum confirmantes . ea duntaxat conditione per omnia ſtatuta sancimus ; ut nullus meorum hęredum poſterorum de supradictis regalibus insignibus . aut de quolibet alio prescriptæ ecclesiæ concesso . aliquid proprii iuris quasi sui patrimonij presumat reclamare ; sed omnia absque omni prorsus calumnia post obitum meum sicut a prędicto illustri rege . in decorem et monimentum ęcclesiæ

Sancti Petri perpetualiter possidenda donata sunt; ipse sanctus interminabiliter possideat. Addidi etiam quotienscunque in solennitatibus corona redimítus in eodem loco fuissem; et ad principalem festiuitatem Sancti Petri duas feras de mea propria uenatione donandas. His igitur adiectam omnem decimam de . cc^tis^. indomitis equis adauxi; et de eis qui uiciniores sunt eidem monasterio. Donaui insuper decimam de Wíc. de eadem parte quæ ad me pertinebat. atque iterum reddidi eandem partem eis iniuste ablatam. quam rex EADWARDUS antea dederat. Post hæc uero in Eastsexa etiam eidem concessi cęnobio matrem ecclesiam de beamfleote. et omnem terram. et decimas. et mariscos palustres pascendarum ouium quæ ad eam pertinent. ita pleniter quietam. et ab omni opere atque consuetudine liberam. sicuti egomet eam sub meo dominio melius et firmius habui. Déinde uero in Oxeneford scire ęquali ut supra libertatis conditione. in blockesham aliam matrem ęcclesiam eidem subieci. et terram unius hidæ et dimidiæ ad eam pertinentem. et pratum. et domos. et capellas omnes. et cimiteria ad eam pertinentia. cunctasque alias consuetudines sic quietas et liberas. sicut egomet eas sub mea propria ditione unquam melius uel liberius habueram. Pręterea quidem in rotelande ei subdidi duas matres ęcclesias. ocham uidelicet et hameledunam. et ęcclesiam sancti Petri in stanforde ad prędictam hameledunam pertinentem. et quicquid ad eandem pertinet. similiter ut supra cum terris et decimis. et capellis omnibus. et cimiteriis ad eas pertinentibus. cunctisque consuetudinibus aliis et legibus. ita penitus firmiter et pleniter sicut melius et liberius unquam fuerunt tempore Eaduuardi regis. Item quoque in eodem rotelande alias duas matres ęcclesias sub eodem stabiliui. ỳppingeham scilicet et Werleam. et domos Wlfuuini presbiteri. et terram quam de socna tenebat. cum aliis terris et decimis. et capellis omnibus. et cimiteriis ad eas pertinentibus. uniuersisque consuetudinibus aliis. omnino sic pleniter liberas sicut fuerunt diebus prędicti regis. Dehinc denique uillam cillinctune quam prius boselinus de diua ei per uím abſtulerat. et terram quoque et domum eius.

et terram et domum Osberni camerarii . quas habuerunt in lundonia reddi pręcepi. His insuper adiciens . quotiens in festo uel extra . eandem sanctam ęcclesiam uisitando adueni; totiens piis precibus fratrum pro quacunque necessitate utilitatis illius loci me forte interpellantium . flexibilis ac deprecabilis extiti . Et quia macerias ęcclesiæ maxima ex parte iam imperfectas esse cognoui; ad perficiendum quod in illa residuum fuerat . centum libras argenti deuotus obtuli. Itaque ob reuerentiam nimij amoris quem erga ipsum inclitum regem habueram; tumbam eius et reginæ iuxta eum positæ ex auro et argento fabrili opere artificiosi decoris mirifice operiri feci. Post uero superius scriptas meorum peculiarium donorum largitiones . etiam dona quæ ciues lundonienses in eadem ciuitate eidem sancto Petro cęlorum clauigero . pio amoris studio donauerant; ego enim meæ regalis munificentiæ largifluo munere . ut in subsequentibus euidentiis apparet . benigne hilariterque corroboraui. Illud étenim mecum sepius reuoluens quia quo ego illius sancti apostoli memoriam et possessiones dilatauero in terris; eo ampliorem mercedem cum illo me spero habiturum in cęlis. Primo igitur donum quod quidam urbanus lundoniensis Alfuuoldus cognomine cockesfot in eadem urbe sepedicto sancto loco [subiec]erat . id est terram et domos suas dominicas . et unum hwearfum . quod est ad applicationem nauium uotis omnibus stabiliui . et conscribi mandaui. Deinde quidem ęcclesiam sanctæ Mariæ quæ niwecýrce appellatur . cum terris et omnibus rebus ad eam pertinentibus; quam Ælfuuardus cognomento grossus in prędicta urbe pro salute animæ suæ dederat . sicut idem melius et plenius pręnominato sancto contulerat . omnimodis immutabiliter concessi. Dehinc sane domos et terras quas quidam ciuis in eadem ciuitate Ælfnothus nomine . eidem mancipauerat cęnobio . qui et ibidem monachus effectus est; sic solutas et liberas concessi . sicut ipse unquam quietius et liberius sub me possederat. Qui etenim non procul ab ipsa ciuitate . prope uillam Wilcumestouue uocitatam . unam hýdam terræ . et molendinum quoddam apud Strætforde . et domos . et terram .

et pascua . et pratum . ad illud pertinens . dederat et ego pari quo supra consensu concedens annui. Porro in regione suthregéna in uilla tottingas cognomine . iiij^{or} . hidas terræ cum campis . pratis . et pascuis . cunctisque ad se pertinentibus idem tribuerat . ego quoque uotíuo co[nsens]u annui . et immutabili [ſtabilitate] sanciui. Item in Suthamtunes scire mansionem . v . hidarum thunreslea di[ctam paga]nus de medehaga cum omnibus appenditiis . me concedente prędicto sancto donauerat. Prętera terram suam et domos suas in eadem urbe quidam uir Goduuinus cognomento great sýd . qui prçerat cementariis illius çcclesiæ . annuente rege Eaduuardo cum consensu filii sui Ælfuuini sancto Petro dederat; hac conuentione facta . ut ipse Ælfuuinus tempore uitæ suæ eas teneret . et de prędicto sancto prçlocuto seruitio recognosceret . et post obitum eius ipsi sancto solute et quiete remanerent; sed has postea Haýmo dapifer meus cum çcclesia sancti clementis quæ has contigua erat uiolenter et iniuſte sibi usurpauit . et ego iuſte feci reſtitui. Iterum quidam alius honorabilis uir eiusdem urbis Aluuoldus nomine de porta sancti botulfi . quia hçredem non habuit . consentiente Eaduuardo rege sanctum Petrum hçredem fecit de dominica curia sua . et de domibus et de terris suis . et de uno hwearfo quod est ad applicationem nauium ad caput pontis illius ciuitatis. Qui uero ad recognitionem quoque anno . xij^{cim} . denarios quam diu uixerat donauit; et ego admodum libens meæ liberalitatis corroboramento tam bene confirmaui . sicut melius et plenius prçfatus rex concesserat . tempore quo ipse Aluuoldus conuentionem fecerat cum abbate Eaduuino et fratribus . pro fraternitate et monachatu quem ibidem suscepit. Similiter çcclesiam sancti Laurentij cum cimiterio . et dominicam curiam suam et terras quas in patrimonio iure possederat quidam clericus liuingus nomine in eadem urbe pro salute animæ suæ et parentum suorum libere et absolute sancto Petro donauit; et ego melius et liberius confirmari prçcepi. Item plenarie et firmiter concessi unam capellam ligneam . et unius lapideæ çcclesiæ sancti magni medietatem prope pontem . et terras suas omnes in eadem urbe quas

quidam urbanus uir pręfatæ ciuitatis nomine liuincgus; pater cum filio iam ibi monachus factus. uxor quoque sua ibidem deo sacrata. sancto illi monasterio subdiderant. Alia ítidem uice terram et domos suas. et medietatem unius HWearfi. quod quædam in eodem loco deo sacrata femina uocabulo Odelína in prędicta ciuitate. et unam hidam terræ in Wiltunscire. in uilla mertune dicta. pręfato sancto donauerat; ego autem prece Mathildis reginæ uxoris meæ firmiter inperpetuum habere concessi. Huius itaque soror nomine Ælfgiua alteram medietatem prędicti Hwearfi. et terram. et domos suas. in illa ciuitate eidem sancto pro salute animæ suæ concesserat. et eas quamdiu uixit tenuit. et ad recognitionem. xij^{cim}. solidos quoque anno sancto donauit. sed postea ab asculfo de pinkeni per fortitudinem demptum. ego denique citius concedens reddi pręcepi. Simili modo quidam uir eiusdem urbis Ælfuuinus nomine faremanni filius sancto Petro donauit. suas dominicas domos. et terram suam. pro qua filius suus ut eam quam diu uiueret teneret; quoque anno ad recognitionem quinque solidos prędicto sancto dare deberet. Item unum Hwéarf ante bærmannecýrce cum terra ad illud pertinente quæ reddit omni anno quinquaginta solidos prenominatus urbanus eidem sancto dedit. pro filio suo quem ibidem monachum fecerat. ea conuentione facta; ut ipse eam concessione abbatis et monachorum in uita sua pro decem solidis teneret. et post mortem eius soluta et quieta pręfato sancto redderetur; ego uero immutabili confirmatione consensi. et firmiter stabiliui. Item terram unam cum domibus retro ęcclesiam Sancti Nicholai. et unum hwéarf et terram sibi subiacentem apud duuegate. quod Ægeluuardus filius Wlgari decani in illa urbe ex patrimonio suo sepedictæ Sancti Petri ęcclesiæ subiugauerat. et ego uotis omnibus concessi. et concedendo confirmaui. Itaque postea quædam mulier brihtgýua nomine uxor uidelicet pręscripti ciuis Ælfnothi. accepto uelamine moniali. quia natos non habuerat. de terris et domibus suis in eadem ciuitate simili modo sicut uir suus prędictus sanctum Petrum hęredem fecit; unam solummodo terram cuidam cognato suo nomine liuingo

quamdiu ipse uiueret derelinquens . ea conditione ut post mortem eius idem sanctus illam solutam et quietam haberet; et ego omnino libens concessi. Quidam uir abhinc de eiusdem urbis ciuibus nomine Wlsius cognomento lickestoppe . in duobus locis quandam partem terræ sancti Petri concedente abbate Eaduuino et monachis in uita sua tenendam suscepit; pro qua quoque anno ad recognitionem . vj . solidos reddidit . eo pacto firmato coram rege Eaduuardo . ut illa éadem terra quam de sancto tenuerat . et duæ aliæ terræ et domus suæ quas apud Westceape habuerat . pro fraternitate sua si monachus eiusdem loci fieret aut non; post mortem suam solute et quiete ęcclesiæ sancti Petri redderentur . et ego libenter annui . et inter cetera conscribi mandaui . Sequenti enim tempore quidam suburbanus prefatæ ciuitatis nomine Ægeluuinus filius Brihtmæri . sub concessione et testimonio Eaduuardi regis . consensu etiam abbatis prefati et monachorum . susceptam a sancto Petro terram pro prelocuto seruitio tribus in locis . quam diu uixerat in eadem urbe tenuit. Qui appropinquante uitæ suæ termino . illam eandem terram sancti quam habuerat reddidit; et nouem alias sui proprii iuris quas in custodio pontis possederat . triginta sex per annum reddentes solidos . prędicti sancti cęnobio monachatum ibi suscipiens subdidit . ego uero libens meæ munificentiæ regali decreto ad habendum in ęternam possessionem iure hęreditario concessi et pleniter confirmaui. Volo[1] itaque et firmiter pręcipio . ut possessiones et homines predicti sancti sint liberi et absoluti ab omni regia consuetudine . et ab omni debito . et redditione quæ danegeld . uel scót anglice nominatur . et ab omni opere castelli . et expeditione . et pontis arcisue constructione . et ab omnibus querelis . et inquietudinibus . et placitis et murthris . Relaxo igitur et concedo eis sacam . et socnam . et theloneum . et latronem . et emissionem . et flemenefurmthe . mischennynge . scauuinge . hlastýnge . et pacis fracturam . et domus inuasionem . et assultus in suo iure . [et omnes le]ges et consuetudines quæ ad me pertinent . in aqua et in terra . in urbe et extra . in uia et extra . in fefto

[1] The handwriting changes from this word to the end.

et extra . sic solutas et quietas . ab omni cuiuscunque exactionis inquietudine . et anguſtia qualiumcunque causarum . sicut melius et plenius et liberius concessæ fuerunt sancto Petro et ęcclesiæ pręfatæ tempore regis Eaduuardi. Pręterea quoniam metropolitanus Cantuariensis . ut mihi a nobilibus relatum est et sapientibus . siue quilibet pro eo uicem gerens oblationem regiam . auri scilicet marcam . cancellarius quidem . reginæ oblationem in omnibus solennitatibus quibus in eadem siue subscriptis ęcclesiis coronatus fuero . habere debeant; iccirco augeo . et ob reuerentiam et coronæ meæ dignitatem . eis confirmo consuetudines illas quas ab eisdem teſtatum est sapientibus eos antiquitus habuisse. Centum uidelicet similas . Modium quoque uini . piscium etiam fercula tanta largitione condigna; quippe ut qui regio participantur officio; eius remunerentur et beneficio. Hæc igitur eadem ęcclesiæ Wintoniæ [simul et] Glouecestriæ concessi . quia prędictorum relatione sapientum; ter in anno . tribus istis et in locis; maiori solum modo . tam pro pacis ęcclesiæ unitate . quam regni mei soliditate; debeo maxime sullimari corona. Itaque quotiens ab expeditione aliqua siue a Normannia . siue etiam extra Angliæ limites rediero; et ęcclesiam pręfatam uuestmonasterii . pro recognitione quia mihi prima sedes regalis eſt et principalis . uisitauero; a conuentu ad processionem pro gloria et honore susceptus; marca totiens auri piam antecessorum meorum deuote prosecutus institutionem; ęcclesiam pręlibatam remunerari concedendo deuoui. Conteſtor igitur filios meos hęredes scilicet et omnes posteros meos per tremendum iudicium dei ne ipsi faciant aut fieri sinant ullam infractionem huic meæ donationi . immo augeant . confirment . et illam ſtabiliant; ita ut deus dies et regnum illorum ſtabiliat in ęterna pace et beatitudine . et mecum in hac mea elemosina partem habeant in celeſti requie. Cum ego pręnominatam ęcclesiam accepi in aduocationem et defensionem tam in possessionibus suis quam in terris seu hominibus et consuetudinibus eidem pertinentibus . ut et ipsi aduocati post me fiant et defensores in omni eorum necessitate et omnia pręscripta regia donatione

firmiter aſtipulata; imperpetuum consiſtant inuiolata . ✠ Ego Willelmus dei gratia anglorum rex et dux Normannorum atque princeps Cęnomannorum hoc pręceptum scribere pręcepi et scriptum hoc signo dominicæ ✠ confirmando ſtabiliui . noſtræque imaginis sigillo insuper assignare curaui . ✠ Ego Mathildis eiusdem collaterana regis accommodaui . ✠ Ego Lanfrancus[1] Cantuariensis ęcclesiæ metropolitanus [pi]o affectu consensi . ✠ Ego Odo Baiocensis ęcclesiæ episcopus [subsc]ripsi . ✠ Ego Gosfridus Conſtantiensis ęcclesiæ episcopus consignaui . ✠ Ego Hugo[2] Lundoniensis ęcclesiæ episcopus co[nfirmaui] . ✠ Ego Walchelinus[3] Wintoniensis ęcclesiæ episcopus co[ncessi] . ✠ Ego Wlſtanus Wigorniensis ęcclesiæ episcopus adquie[ui] . ✠ Ego Giso Wellensis episcopus corroboraui . ✠ Ego [Ead]uuinus abbas hoc donum regium suscepi . ✠ Ego Scotlandus abbas . ✠ Ego Ricaldus abbas . ✠ Ego Wlfwoldus abbas . ✠ Ego Al[fnothus] abbas . ✠ Ego Baldeuuinus abbas . ✠ Ego [S]imeon [abbas] . ✠ Ego Æelsinus . . . ✠ Ego Mauricius regis cancellarius . fauendo relegi et sigillaui . ✠ Ego Rogerus comes . ✠ Ego Hugo comes . ✠ Ego Alanus comes . ✠ Ego Robertus comes . ✠ Ego Albericus comes . ✠ Ego Willelmus filius Osberni . ✠ Ego Hugo de monteforti . ✠ Ego Rodbertus de bello monte . ✠ Ego Ricardus Gisleberti comitis filius . ✠ Ego Baldeuuinus frater eius . ✠ Ego Henricus de ferrariis . ✠ Ego Hugo de grantemaisnil . ✠ Ego Walterus Giffard.

Transcripts of the text will be found in MSS. Cotton. Faustina A. iii. f. 37 *b*, and Titus A. viii. f. 12 *b*. By the means of these I have been able to supply several words burned out of the original.

This remarkable deed is an unmistakable forgery, in a handwriting certainly not anterior to the twelfth century,

[1] Not appointed until A.D. 1070.

[2] Not appointed until A.D. 1075.

[3] Not appointed until A.D. 1070. These facts are alone sufficient evidence of the spurious nature of this charter, which is, notwithstanding, of very considerable interest.

apparently written by the identical hand that perpetrated the similarly framed and similarly forged documents, pretending to be grants of various privileges from Edgar, Edward, and William in favour of St. Peter's Abbey, Westminster, and now extant in the abbey itself. It contains a long recital of many grants and liberties to the same abbey, and is professedly dated A.D. 1067, but contains subscriptions of many bishops and abbots not appointed until afterwards.

[11] Also an undoubted forgery, and one of the same set as the preceding one in the British Museum. The Dean of Westminster has kindly permitted me to insert it here, and I believe it has never been printed before. The principal bearing it puts forth is the independent position the Abbey should hold from any authority claimed over it by the Bishops of London.

Endorsed "Secunda Carta Willelmi primi. Nota de libertatibus."

℣ In nomine sanctæ et indiuiduæ Trinitatis Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen. Ego Willelmus diuina misericordia rex Anglorum et dux Normannorum successoribus meis regibus . archiepiscopis . episcopis . abbatibus . comitibus . optimatibus . cunctisque fidelibus qui sub dicione mea sunt clericis et laicis . salutem æternæ felicitatis et pacis. Quam sit salúbre útile et necessarium ęcclesiarum quieti prospícere et de illarum perpetua securitate sollerter tractare . plurimarum causarum quas in regimine cenobiorum in hís et etiam in transmarinis regionibus factas esse sepius audiuimus . exempla non pauca nobis manifestant. Et quoniam in plerisque locis plurimas inquietudines . molestias . persecutiones . scandala . atque grauamina monachos á plurimis episcopis pertulisse cognoscimus . decet ut nostræ excellentiæ regia prouisio de ipsorum uentura quiéte salubri meditetur dispositione . ut manentes in ipsis tranquilla mente in seruitute dei ipsius subueniente gratia permaneat. Vnde presentes et posteri sciant uniuersi . quod antíqui gloriosi reges ęcclesiam sancti petri apostolorum principis quæ

Weſtmonaſterium dicitur nimio affectu dilexerunt . honorauerunt . et exaltauerunt . suisque regalibus ópibus et priuilegiis perpetua libertate cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus amplificauerunt . munierunt . et confirmauerunt. Quá de ré nos quoque illos fideliter in hoc sequentes . ob reuerentiam et magnificentiam sancti protectoris noſtri atque fautoris ipsius beati apoſtoli pariterque pio ducti amore et prodiga benignitate cognati mei bonæ memoriæ Eadwardj regis . noſtrum patrocinium . tutámen . atque iuuamen eídem ęcclesiæ concedimus . augemus . indulgemus . immo noſtram beniuolentiam probitate . largitate . et sancionibus illorum confirmamus . et aduersus cupidorum insidias eandem undique præmunímus . ác ęcclesiaſtica auctoritate omnímodis fulcimus. Et ut hæc firmius et solidius in euum conseruentur . in solennitate Pentecoſtes hábito concilio in cęleberrimo loco præscripti Weſtmonaſterij . et á noſtra regia maieſtate conuocatis in unum cunctis regni noſtri primatibus . ad audiendas et confirmandas quásdam sýnodalis decreti causas necessarias . communi consensu maxime episcoporum . abbatum . et aliorum insignium . noſtrorum prócerum . inter cætera uniuersaliter hoc prospicientes et ſtatuentes decernimus . monaſterio ipsi et seruientibus in eo commodum et profuturum esse non tantum in noſtro sed et in sequenti tempore . ut illorum qui nos præcesserunt regum leges . cęrimoniæ . decreta á nobis et á tám illúſtrium uirorum persónis ampliori dignitatis prærogatiua antíquitus ei concessa . et specialiter commendata . perénni[1] iure illibata teneantur. Deinde uero ut monachi illius sancti loci possint deo soli uacare et seruire in tranquillo diuinæ deuotionis proposito . absque omni usurpata consuetudine . et tedioso grauámine lundóniæ præsulis aut canonicorum eius . defendimus . prohibemus . et omníno interdicimus . ullo sedicioso ipsorum Aduentu illos diſturbare siue inquietare. Episcopus etiam ille nunquam ullum potentatum aut dominatum siue impérium in eodem præsumat usurpare . nec ulla prorsus subiugationis aut seruitutis siue tributi condicione .

[1] Written over an erasure.

in magno uel in mínimo dei miniſtros opprimere aut grauare. neque aliquid arroganter uel discorditer ibídem patrare. quod cartæ eiusdem ęcclesiæ concórditer próhibent perpetrare. Nullum sibi íus consuetudinarium per uiolentiam aut per exactionem in eo éxigat. uel aliquam pęnitus intromissionem per tỳránnidem quasi ad suæ dicionis propria iura. nisi peticione abbatis uel monachorum. aliquando usurpatiue exerceat. Ic circo ad hæc disponenda et inviolabiliter stabilienda ad laudem domini et honorem sancti PETRI apoſtoli. sub inuocatione sanctæ TRINITATIS et impressione dominicæ crucis. sanctáque auctoritate eiusdem apoſtoli et omnium noſtrorum. præsentisque priuilegii decreto dispónimus. sancimus atque confirmamus. unanimiter hác sỳnódica sancione modis omnibus uetantes. quatinus supradicta sancta ęcclesia nullis unquam ęcclesiaſticis condicionibus seu quibuslibet obsequiis secularibus subiaceat. nec ullis canonicorum íuribus deseruiat. sed quemádmodum præordinatum et determinatum et priuilegiorum confirmationibus corroboratum et ſtabilitum fuerat temporibus præscripti magnifici regis EADWARDI. et sicut in illius monaſterii priuilegiis conſtitutum est sic perpetuo maneat inuiolatum et inconuulsum.

Propterea igitur quicunque præsentis inſtituti et decreti noſtri paginam immo dei beneficium huiusque uniuersalis sỳnodj beneficium uel beniuolentiam prælibato nobili loco honorifice collatam fraudulenter seu uiolenter subuertere præsumpserit. eum uelut rapacem atque sacrílegum á populi χp̃iani societate iuſto tremendóque anathémate separamus et á regno dei alienum. cum omnibus impiis æterni incendii supplicio concremandum commíttimus. nisi digna penitentia et subsequenti emendatione reconciliatus. aduersus sanctum locum illum quod pérpere egit emendauerit. At uero qui huius nostræ Catholicæ sancionis obseruator extiterit. omnipotentis domini misericordia. et ipsius beati apoſtoli cuius hæc sunt iura pręce suffultus gratissima. mereatur interminabiliter præmia possidere cæleſtia. Amen. Siquidem ut uniuersa hæc sicut sunt—uera esse credantur. et á cunctis

catholicæ fidei cultoribus firmissime teneantur . manus noſtræ subscriptionis signum imposuimus . et legitimos teſtes eminentiores uidelicet noſtræ regíminis uiros . subtus annotari íussimus . Ego Willelmus χp̃i gratia largiente anglorum rex—hoc signo . ✠[1] . sanctæ crucis istud priuilegium confirmaui . Ego LANFRANCVS[2] diuina clementia sanctæ ecclesiæ cantuariensis metropolitanus præsul laudaui . et propria manu . ✠ . hæc corroboraui . ✠ . Ego THOMAS archiepiscopus eboracensis ecclesiæ consignaui . ✠ . Ego WILLELMVS episcopus lundoniensis ecclesiæ ad omnia suprascripta consentiens subscripsi . ✠ . Ego ODO episcopus consensi et subscripsi . ✠ . Ego Gosfridus episcopus consensi et subscripsi . ✠ . Ego Walchelinus episcopus consensi et subscripsi . ✠ . Ego Remigius episcopus . ✠ . Ego Wlstanus episcopus . ✠ . Ego GISO episcopus . ✠ . Ego Walterus episcopus . ✠ . Ego Hermannus episcopus . ✠ . Ego Leouricus episcopus . ✠ . Ego Scotlandus abbas . ✠ . Ego Wlfwoldus abbas . ✠ . Ego Vitalis abbas . ✠ . Ego Baldeuuinus abbas . ✠ . Ego Serlo abbas . ✠ Ego Ægelwius abbas . ✠ . Ego Rodbertus comes moritoñ . ✠ . Ego Willelmus comes OSBERNI filius . ✠ . Ego Rogerius comes . ✠ . Ego Albericus comes . ✠ . Ego Osmundus regis cancellarius relégi et sigillaui . ✠ . Ego Rodbertus de bellomonte . ✠ . Ego Walterus giffardus . Omnes iſti consenserunt hæc ; et signauerunt ; anno dominicæ incarnationis . M̄ . LXX^mo^[3] . quinto . etiam adepti imperii prænominati gloriosi regis Willelmi anno . iiii^to^ . die prædicti feſti Pentecoſtes . XI^mo^ . Kł . iunij . scripta eſt hæc carta et sigillata . et ab ipso rege et supradictis personis teſtificata . et confirmata . et auctorizata in dei nomine feliciter . amen.

[12] Printed in Dugdale's Mon. Angl. iii. p. 192, col. i. n. vi.

[1] Originally thus ✱, but the saltire erased.

[2] Not appointed till 15th Aug. 1070.

[3] Small erasure here. The date is incorrect. May, 1070, would be in the fourth, not fifth, regnal year of William I. ; and the fourth day of Pentecost, 1070, is 26th of May, not 22nd of May, the equivalent of 11 Kal. Jun.

"✠ . Willelmus . rex anglorum . Petro episcopo[1] ceſtrensi . 7 Willelmo comiti[2] filio Oſberni . 7 huȝoni Comitj[3] Ceſtrensi . cæteriſque Comitibus . Ac Baronibus . Vicecomitibus . omnibusque fidelibuſ 7 miniſtris suis; francif 7 Anȝlis; ſalutem . Sciatis me concessisse 7 dedisse deo 7 Æcclesiæ Sanctæ MARIE de Couentréa . 7 Abbati Leoþwino[4] fratribusque eiuſdem loci—ad uictuale ſubsidium . omnes donationes terrarum aliarumque rerum omnium quas Leoþricus comeſ pro ſalutę animæ suæ ibidem contulit . cum saca . 7 ſocna . toll . 7 team; ſic ſolutas 7 liberas ſicut piæ memoriæ Æadwardus coȝnatus meus melius 7 plenius eiſdem concessit . 7 per cartas ſuas conþirmauit . Þis testibus . Odone baiocensi episcopo[5] . Gosþrido episcopo de conſtantiis[6] . Roberto comite de moretañ . Roȝerio comite de munȝumeř . Þenrico de þerrariis.[7] VAL."

Endorsed "Carta Willelmi primi conquestoris Regis."

[13] This remarkable charter is addressed to Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, and Count William Fitzosbern,[8] reciting the confirmation to Abbot Serlo and St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, of all the lands "quas Thomas Archiepiscopus Eboracensis injuste tenebat." For an account of the circumstances herein mentioned, see William of Malmesbury's 'Gesta Pontificum' (ed. Hamilton, p. 263 n., 293, and 264), where Aldred, successor to Wulstan in the see of Worcester, and predecessor of Thomas in the province of York, appears to be the guilty person. "Non solum hoc, sed et villas reliquas episcopatus, quas Aldredus archiepiscopus retinuerat, [Wlstanus] recuperavit ad unam, cum Lanfrancus archiepiscopus constanter assisteret causæ, urgens videlicet emulum primatus et potentiæ."

Lanfranc appears to have availed himself of every occasion to try and undermine Wlstan's position, in this case he seems to have alleged that he was scheming to obtain Thomas's place. The subject is foreign to the scope of this

[1] 1075–1085. [2] Ob. 1071, G. R. W. M. ii. 432. [3] 1070–1101.
[4] Occ. 1075, ob. ante 1095. [5] 1049–1097.
[6] 1048–1093. [7] Occ. 1081. [8] Ob. 1071.

paper, but may be read in a valuable work [by Henry Scale English], 'Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a regular dissection of the Saxon Chronicle.' 1830. 12mo.

[14] This remarkably laconic charter, perhaps the shortest on record, is printed in the new edition of Dugdale's 'Monasticon Anglicanum,' vol. i. p. 302, col. i. no. xlix. from an incorrect copy in the Cotton MS. Faustina A. iii. fol. 62 *b*.

"W. rex anglorum . h . de portu . et omnibus fidelibus suis francigenis et anglis salutem . Sciatis me dedisse sancto petro de Westmonasterio . Decimam de rotelanda . et tu hugo de portu inde eum saisias."

Endorsed: "W. Decima Roteland."

Hugo de Portu occurs in many documents towards the end of William's reign. Cf. Dugdale's 'Baronage,' vol. i. p. 463; Sir Henry Ellis's 'Introduction to the Domesday Book,' vol. i. p. 469, and note.

[15] Now as this Paris charter, bearing a professed date of 1069, possesses a seal of the second or later type, certainly in use, as I shall presently show, after 1085, and another forged one already mentioned, dated 1067, bears a seal of the type which was genuinely in use between 1071–1072, the proof is before us, if any indeed be required, that the forger appended to his handiwork a seal, genuine in itself, and either abstracted from a genuine document, or made by a surreptitious procurance of the matrix, but whose origin is without doubt derived from a matrix not engraved till many years after the date of the document which it proposes by its presence to ratify.

We here incidentally learn the enormous value of ascertaining correctly the order in which the seals of our early monarchs stand, of limiting the years during which they were current, and of carefully examining the impressions which we possess, with a view to discovering small differences of detail sufficient to warrant the statement that they issue from distinctly separate matrices. The pious but

fraudulent scribe was unaware that the seal of his king had undergone a material alteration, and in his haste to combat the challenge which a spurious seal might have provoked, overreached himself in artfully providing a genuine seal that would bear the closest inspection. In those days the seal was to the unlearned, to the general observer, of more importance than any other circumstance connected with the document to which it was attached, so much so that no less a punishment than death itself was the penalty of counterfeiting a seal; perhaps the cunning of this over-zealous individual suggested this as the only way out of the difficulty when the finished page, too large and pretentious to be true, required but the royal seal to crown the work he had undertaken, that he might confer an additional safeguard upon the privileged institution of which he was so unworthy a member. Many similar forgeries abound, both in England and on the Continent, and no doubt they found credence, and were to some extent a shield of protection against royal rapacity and plundering ecclesiastics. The seal, therefore, must be always considered one of the principal points of a charter, for upon its harmony with the date of the deed a great deal depends; no wonder then that a genuine seal, as in the case before us, should have disarmed all suspicion of the improper source of the instrument.

The seal is accurately engraved in the 'Archæologia,' xxv. 616, and the charter itself occurs in the 'Recueil de pièces justificatives,' p. lxxxviij, n° cxv, appended by Dom Michel Felibien to his 'Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denys,' fol. Paris, 1706.

✠. Willelmus rex Anglorum, comes Nortmannorum atque Cinomannensium. Christi fidelibus ubique gentium. Miserator et misericors dominus. patiens et multum misericors. inter cętera suæ miserationis præcepta. cum uniuersa quæ possidet homo ultra quam dici potest compendiosa sint ad comparationem beatitudinis æternæ. præcipit nobis ex his quæ iure possidemus. indeficientes thesauros thesaurizare. dicens; Thesaurizate uobis thesauros in cælo. ubi neque

ærugo neque exterminant. Cuius præcepti amore ſtimulati . ego et collateralis mea Mattildis . cum prudenti consilio procerum noſtrorum pro salute animæ noſtræ . liberorum . omniumque noſtrorum . ecclesiam de Derhest sitam in territorio et comitatu ciuitatis Gloeceſtræ sanꝫto Dionysio . cuius prærogatiuo apoſtolatu Galliæ populus congratulatur . cum omnibus sibi appenditiis conferimus . sicut fideli noſtro Balduino eiusdem sanꝫti monacho inlustris antecessor noſter rex Eadwardus suis propriis usibus dedit . priusquam abbatiam sanꝫti Eadmundi . cui nunc præest . ab eodem susciperet . et sicuti nos poſtmodum adepto regno ipsi concessimus. Roboramus etiam hoc priuilegio donum quod prænominatus rex eidem sanꝫto pro nanciscenda mercede æterna contulit . uidelicet Teintuna cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus . sancientes eam liberam . sicut et hanc quam ipsi tribuimus . quatinus nos et soboles nostra ipsius sanꝫti precibus . sociorumque eius Rustici et Eleutherii . adipisci mereamur prosperum præsentis uitæ statum . et æternæ stationis portum. Si quis autem ex hac noſtra donatione quippiam diripuerit . cuiuscunque poteſtatis sit . ex auꝫtoritate dei omnipotentis . cum Dathan et Abȳron similem sortiatur portionem . nisi resipiscens satisfaꝫtionem et emendationem sanꝫto . fratribusque loci attitulatis . exhibuerit . Anno Dominicæ incarnationis . M. lxviiij . regni uero Willelmi regis tertio in secunda die paschæ firmatum est hoc priuilegium in monaſterio sanꝫti Spiddun apud ciuitatem Wincestræ dum celebraretur missa. His teſtibus consentientibus. Ego Willelmus rex . hanc noſtram donationem et corroborationem signo agȳæ crucis muniui . ✠ . Ego Mattildis regina eiusdem regis hoc mihi placere professa sum. Ego Richardus regis filius . patris et matris donum libentissime annui . ✠ . Ego Stigandus ecclesiæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopus confirmaui . ✠ . Ego Aldredus ecclesiæ Eboracensis archiepiscopus consodaui . ✠ . Ego Willelmus Episcopus Lundoniæ . ✠ . Ego Agelricus episcopus . Ego Herimannus episcopus . ✠ . Ego Giso episcopus . ✠ . Ego Odo episcopus frater regis consignaui . ✠ . Ego Goisfridus episcopus sanꝫti Laudi . ✠ . Ego Balduinus Ebroi-

censis episcopus . ✠ . Ego Ernaldus Cinnomannensis episcopus . ✠ . Ego Robertus comes regis frater cum beniuolentia consensi . ✠ . Ego Willelmus comes Osberti filius . ✠ . Ego Robertus comes Augensis castri . ✠ . Ego Rodulfus comes . ✠ . Ego Brien . ✠ . Ego Fulco de Alnoo . ✠ . Ego Henricus Ferrariensis . ✠ . Ego Hugo de Monte forti . ✠ . Ego Richardus filius Gisleberti comitis . ✠ . Ego Rogerus Oiuri . ✠ : Ego Haimo regis dapifer . ✠ . Ego Robertus frater huius Haimonis . ✠ . Signum reginæ . ✠ . Signum regis . ✠ . Signum filii eius Richardi.

[16] By the kindness of the Dean of Westminster I am enabled to insert the text of the charter here :—

"W. rex anglorum . R . uicecomiti & omnibus ministris suis in suthreia salutem. Sciatis quia pro salute animæ meæ concedo deo et sancto petro Westmonasterii et abbati . G. viij. hidas de manerio piriford . quæ in dominio meo sunt infra forestam de Windlesores . quietas a modo semper et liberas a scoto . et ab omni mea consuetudine . et censu pecuniæ quæ geld uocatur anglicę . T. W. episcopo dunel-[mensi] . et . J. taileb . Post descriptionem totius angliæ."

Endorsed: "W. Piriford," and in a later hand "Carta Regis Willelmi de viij hidis in Pirford." Abbot Galfridus or Goisfridus occurs in 1072, and William of St. Carileph, Bp. of Durham, dates from 1086 to 1096.

Domesday Book herein called 'Descriptio totius Angliæ,' was completed in 1086.

[17] See Brit. Mus., Additional MS. 26759, f. $\frac{86}{8}$.

VIII.—ON THE GREAT SEALS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH.

(Read December 21, 1870.)

ADDENDUM.

In the paper I had the honour of communicating to the Society upon the Great Seals of William the Conqueror, I alluded briefly to the fact that one specimen of the great seal of this king was in existence at Canterbury; a recent search made among the *Cartæ Antiquæ* (A. 78.) in the Treasury Room of the Cathedral, by permission of the Dean, who kindly allowed me to examine the literary treasures there, was rewarded by finding the original act of Council for settlement of the dispute between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York respecting the primacy of England. The text of this important document has been printed with some errors in Wilkins's 'Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ,' London, 1737, p. 324, from a late twelfth century copy in MS. Cotton, Domitian A. V., fol. 13, but as the original text, though faithfully copied by the scribe who wrote the Cottonian MS., has not been in all cases adhered to by Wilkins, I venture to think a correct rendering of the original will not

be an unacceptable addition to ecclesiastical literature. The seal accompanying this document presents many remarkable points in connection with what has been stated by me in the preceding pages. It has been affixed by the method termed *en plaque* or *en placard*, that is, a circular hole about one inch diameter has been cut in the lower part of the vellum, and a mass of yellow wax pressed on each side which received the impression of the matrix; three narrow slits indicate the original presence of a small slip of vellum to give a firmer hold to the wax. This method of sealing, though found by Sir Frederic Madden to have been employed by Offa in A.D. 790, and Eadgar in A.D. 960, was never used to our knowledge afterwards except in this single instance; there is no doubt that this peculiar method was used in continental diplomacy; and when the scope of the instrument, and the probability that it was prepared by *Hubertus*, the *Lector* of the Roman Court, is taken into consideration, I think this solitary deviation from the English custom is fully accounted for.

Of the seal itself, though very fragmentary, on the reverse especially, there yet remains sufficient to show that it belongs to the type which I consider the later one of the two; and as we find the other, that is the first type, in use between A.D. 1071 and 1072, while this document is dated in the latter year, it follows that the matrix of this second type was certainly first employed not earlier than A.D. 1071, nor later than A.D. 1072. This being firmly established, it is evident that we now possess, for the future, a means of deciding whether sealed and undated documents of William the Conqueror are to be referred

to the period A.D. 1066–1072, or A.D. 1072–1087, and this is of great value in determining other questions raised in the documents themselves.

The text is as follows:—

Anno ab incarnatione domini nostri ihesu χpi millesimo septuagesimo secundo . pontificatus autem domni Alexandri papę undecimo . regni | uero Willelmi gloriosi regis anglorum & ducis northmannorum[1] sexto . ex pręcepto eiusdem Alexandri papę . annuente eodem rege in | presentia ipsius & episcoporum atque abbatum uentilata est causa de primatu quem LANFRANCVS dorobernensis archiepiscopus super | eboracensem ęcclesiam iure suę ęcclesię proclamabat . & de ordinationibus quorundam episcoporum . de quibus ad quem specialiter pertinerent | certum minime conſtabat. Et tandem aliquando diuersis diuersarum scripturarum auctoritatibus probatum atque oſtensum eſt . | quod eboracensis aecclesia cantuariensi debeat subiacere . eiusque archiepiscopi ut primatis totius britannię dispositionibus in jis[2] quę ad | χpianam religionem pertinent in omnibus oboedire. Subiectionem uero dunelmensis hoc eſt lindisfarnensis episcopi . atque omnium regionum á | terminis licifeldensis[3] episcopii & humbrę magni fluvii usque ad extremos scotię fines . & quicquid ex hac parte predicti fluminis ad | parochiam eboracensis aecclesię iure competit . cantuariensis metropolitanus eboracensi archiepiscopo eiusque successoribus in perpetuum | obtinere concessit. Ita ut si cantuariensis archiepiscopus concilium cogere uoluerit : ubicunque uisum ei fuerit . eboracensis archiepiscopus sui pręsentiam cum omnibus sibi subiectis ad nutum eius exhibeat . & eius canonicis dispositionibus oboediens exiſtat. Quod autem eboracensis | archiepiscopus professionem cantuariensi archiepiscopo facere etiam cum sacramento debeat : LANFRANCVS dorobernensis archiepiscopus ex an | tiqua antecessorum consuetudine oſtendit . sed ob amorem regis thomę ebora-

[1] Normannorum, *MS. Cott.* Domitian A.V., f. 13.
[2] hiis, *MS. Cott.* [3] lichifeldensis, *MS. Cott.*

censi archiepiscopo sacramentum relaxauit . scriptamque | tantum professionem recepit . non prçiudicans successoribus suis . qui sacramentum cum professione á successoribus thomç exigere | uoluerint. Si archiepiscopus cantuariensis uitam finierit ⁊ eboracensis archiepiscopus doroberniam ueniet . & eum qui electus fuerit cum | cçteris prçfatç aecclesiç episcopis ut primatem proprium iure consecrabit. Quod si eboracensis archiepiscopus obierit ⁊ is qui ei suc|cessurus eligitur . accepto á rege archiepiscopatus dono . cantuariam uel ubi cantuariensi archiepiscopo placuerit accedet . & ab | ipso ordinationem canonico more suscipiet. Huic conſtitutioni consenserunt prçfatus rex & archiepiscopi LANFRANCVS cantua|riensis & thomas eboracensis . & cçteri qui interfuerunt episcopi. Ventilata est autem hçc causa prius apud uuentanam ciuita|tem in pascali solemnitate . in capella regia quç sita eſt in caſtello . postea in uilla regia quç uocatur vuindisor[4] . ubi & finem accepit in prç|sentia regis . episcoporum . abbatum . diuersorum ordinum . qui congregati erant apud curiam in festiuitate pentecoſtes.

✠. Signum Willelmi regis . ✠ Signum Mathildis reginç . ✠ Ego hubertus sanctç romanç çcclesiç lector & domni Alexandri papç legatus subscripsi . ✠ Ego LANFRANCVS dorobernensis archiepiscopus subscripsi . ✠ Ego Thomas eboracensis archiepiscopus subscripsi . ✠ Ego Willelmus lundoniensis episcopus consensi . ✠ Ego Herimannus siraburnensis episcopus subscripsi . ✠ Ego uulſtanus uuigornensis episcopus subscripsi . ✠ Ego Walterus herefordensis episcopus consensi . ✠ Ego Giso uuellensis episcopus consensi . ✠ Ego Remigius dorchacensis[5] episcopus subscripsi . ✠ Ego Walchelinus uuentanus episcopus subscripsi . ✠ Ego herfastus helmeanensis episcopus subscripsi . ✠ Ego ſtigandus ciceſtrensis episcopus consensi . ✠ Ego Siuuardus hrofensis episcopus consensi . ✠ Ego Osbernus exoniensis episcopus consensi . ✠ Ego Odo baiocensis episcopus & comes cantiç consensi . ✠ Ego Goisfridus[6] con-

[4] Windlesor, *MS. Cott.* [5] dorcacensis, *MS. Cott.*
[6] Gosſridus, *MS. Cott.*

ſtantiensis episcopus & unus de primatibus anglorum consensi . ✠ Ego Scollandus abbas cenobii sancti AVGVSTINI consensi . ✠ Ego Elfvuinus abbas cenobii quod rammesei dicitur consensi . ✠ Ego Elnodus Glestoniensis abbas consensi . ✠ Ego Thurſtanus abbas cenobii quod in insula quę dicitur heli situm est consensi . ✠ Ego Vluuoldus[7] abbas cenobii quod certisei dicitur consensi . ✠ Ego Eluuius abbas cenobii heuesandi consensi . ✠ Ego fredericus abbas cenobii sancti albani consensi . ✠ Ego Goisfridus abbas cenobii Sancti Petri quod non longe á lundonia situm est consensi . ✠ Ego Balduinus abbas cenobii Sancti EAdmundi consensi . ✠ Ego Toroldus abbas de burgo consensi . ✠ Ego Adelelmus abbas abbendonię consensi . ✠ Ego Rualo d[9][8] abbas noui monaſterii uuentonię consensi.

Endorsed: "I. De primatu Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ tempore Willelmi regis.

"Ordinacio. § De subjectione Eboraci, tempore W. Regis et Lanfranci archiepiscopi, debita sibi et successoribus suis et ecclesiæ Christi inperpetuum."

[7] uuluuoldus, *MS. Cott.* [8] Rualodus, *MS. Cott.*

IX.—ACCOUNT OF COFFINS AND MUMMIES DISCOVERED IN EGYPT ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES IN 1868–9.

BY SAMUEL BIRCH, LL.D.

(Read February 3, 1870.)

On the occasion of the visit to Egypt of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, in 1868, and at the time of his stay at Thebes, a sepulchre was discovered containing several coffins and mummies, all apparently of a Theban family which lived in the seventh century before our era. The site had been known for some time to certain residents on the spot, but was kept a secret, and is supposed, from the information which has been communicated to me, to have been placed three miles to the north-west of the Colossi, in the plains at Gourneh. The sepulchre itself was about 90 feet deep in the native rock, and Mustapha, the British Vice-Consul at Thebes, and Mr. Edwin Smith, an American, who has been long located there, descended the pit at a considerable risk, and brought to the light of day about thirty mummies and thirty coffins. Ten of the coffins were left in Egypt, but the mummies, with other coffins, the best of the find, were presented by Ismail Pasha, the Viceroy, to the Prince of Wales, who brought them to England.

They were temporarily deposited in Clarence House. It was my rare good fortune to inspect and study the collection, and as it is seldom, if ever, that so large a number of coffins of the same period can be compared, the general results of their examination will probably contribute to the classification of other mummies and coffins of the same period. These were of the age of Bocchoris and his father Tnephachthus, the monarchs of the 24th dynasty. These were a Saite dynasty, and remarkable for two circumstances: the father, compelled by necessity, during an expedition to Arabia, to partake of the simpler fare of a private individual,[1] cursed the royal luxury of Menes, the founder of the monarchy; the son Bocchoris, contemptible in person,[2] was remarkable for the wisdom of his laws, and the fact that a lamb spoke in his reign.[3] This probably referred to some oracular response, but why the fact was important, or to what effect the animal spoke, has not been recorded by the epitomists.[4] Perhaps it prophesied the fate of the unhappy monarch who was taken prisoner by the Ethiopian Sabaco and burnt alive. The length of the reign of Bocchoris is stated to be six or forty-four years; so great a difference, that the discovery of monumental evidence could alone determine which of the two was the real duration of his reign. The discovery of the Serapeum has revealed the name of Bocchoris, previously unknown, and the death of an Apis in the sixth year of his reign,

[1] Diodor. Bibl. i. 45. [2] Diodor. i. 67.

[3] Manetho in African. Syncell. p. 74. Bunsen, 'Egypt's Place,' i. 638, 639.

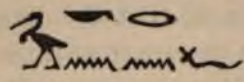
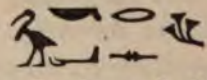
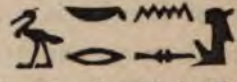
[4] This miraculous lamb had two tails, two heads, four horns, and eight feet. It resembles the mythical representations of the rams or souls of the gods. (Ælian, N. H. xii. 3. Lepsius, Königsb. v. 87.)

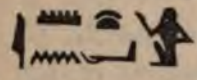
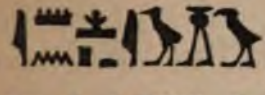
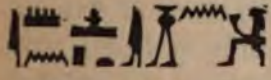
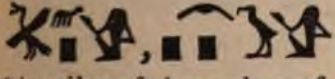
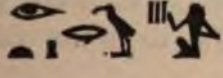
in the 5th of the month Thoth, agreeing with the duration of his rule, according to Manetho.[5] This Apis was not succeeded by any other of the same reign, which would have been the case had Bocchoris sat on the throne thirty-eight years longer, so that the date of six years must be regarded as the correct one. There were also indications that Bocchoris immediately succeeded the 22nd dynasty, and was probably descended from the younger branch or line of Hesiemkheb and Osorchon II., while the Apis which died in his reign was buried in the same chamber with another which died in the 37th year of Shashank IV., there being no trace of an Apis of the 23rd dynasty, which lasted, according to Manetho, eighty-nine years. It is impossible that an Apis should not have lived in that interval. The names of the officers of state at the time of Bocchoris are also similar to those of the 22nd dynasty, another argument in favour of the limited interval, if any, between the 22nd and 24th dynasty. It has, indeed, been supposed that two other monarchs, Tnephachthus and Zet, both belong to this dynasty.[6] The date of Bocchoris is placed, by most chronologists, about B.C. 720, and to this, and a subsequent period, the age of the mummies discovered in 1869 is to be referred. They evidently commence with the reign of Bocchoris, and

[5] Mariette, 'Renseignements sur les soixante-quatre Apis,' Athenæum Français Bull. Ant. 1856, p. 58. 'Le Sérapéum de Memphis,' fol. 1857, p. 24, pl. 34.

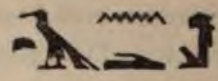
[6] Tnephachthus is called *Technatis* by Plutarch, 'De Iside,' c. 7, and Neochabis 'Athenæus,' x., p. 418, but his correct name commenced with *Tne*, as will be proved by these mummies. According to the cuneiform texts he was called Tafnekht, a form also found in hieroglyphs. (Lenormant, Revue Archéol., Sept. 1870.)

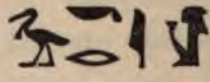
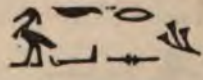
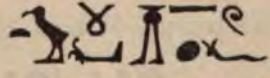
continued through the 25th dynasty to the 26th dynasty, or about B.C. 600, when the sepulchre was probably closed, and no other bodies admitted.

The name of Bocchoris is written in hieroglyphs  *Bakenran-f*, which was softened by the Greeks to the form first mentioned. This name does not quite approach the Greek form, but resembles in its termination and construction that of Nectanebo or Nekhtanebes. Two of the mummy coffins had similar names. Coffin No. 8, made for a lady named  *Bakaras*, a form much nearer to Bocchoris, and the feminine, apparently, of Baken-ran-f, and coffin No. 18, which belonged to a lady named  *Bak[en]rans*, the more complete form, of which Bakaras may be an abridged or imperfectly written name. As the names of individuals were conferred upon them when children, and were often given after the reigning monarch, it is evident that these two females must have been born and named in the six years of the unhappy Bocchoris, or about B.C. 720, and supposing that they attained the age of forty or fifty years, that they must have died about the time of the Dodecarchy, or rise of the 26th dynasty, about B.C. 680 or 670. No indication of their age appeared on the coffins, and one was destitute of a mummy. The other had a mummy in tolerable condition, but had been opened, and unless it was quite certain that it was unchanged, no conclusion could be drawn from its appearance.

Although it was evident, from the great uniformity of style and treatment, that they belonged to one family, and had been embalmed and buried from the same undertaker's establishment, the descent of the entire group of mummies could not be traced. The persons from whom some of the group were descended bore the name of  *Amenshau*, one of this name being the husband of a lady named Bakaras, already mentioned, by whom he was the father of  , , or  *Amenhept-ai*, or *Amenhetpai-an* to whom coffin No. 4 belonged. This Amenhetpai was married to a lady named *Aruru* or *Erieus*, and had a son named ,  *Pakepu*. Amenhetpai was a 'scribe of Amen,' or of the temple of that god in Thebes. Pakepu held the office of *uah mau hr ement Uab*, controller of the lake or "waters in western Thebes." The coffin and mummies of father and son were in the collection No. 3 and No. 6. The lady  or

Aruru, for her name is written in both ways, was the daughter of

Nasamenapt and  *Tant.* Her coffin was also in the collection No. 16, but owing to some confusion or carelessness of the scribes, the name was written as a man or woman; in one case, however, the title, lady of the house, prefixed to it showed that the tenant was a female.

As there were two ladies of the name of Bakarans in the collection, it is not possible to decide which was the wife of Amenshau. She is named, indeed, on coffin No. 4,  *Bakara.* Coffin No. 8, which had no mummy, had been made for a lady named  *Bakaras*, daughter of  *Ta....Annuf*, "a 'functionary' named '*Annuf*,'" and

Neh pa Tahrer, "the lady of the House Tahrer." Considering the different manner in which the same name is written on coffins, and the abridgment or carelessness of the scribes, Bakaras and Bakara might be the same names. But there was also another female in

coffin No. 18, called *Neb pa Bakrans*, "the lady of the house Bakrans," daughter of *Pet-har*, and there is this in her favour, that she was 'lady of a house,' or married, while No. 8, if of a female, was not stated to be married. Hence it is more probable that this last-mentioned lady was the daughter of Amenshau. Not only was her name that of the monarch Bocchoris, but her father was one of the period, similar ones having been found amongst the persons who offered votive tablets to the Apis deceased in the lifetime of the unfortunate monarch of the 24th dynasty.

Pet'har was married to a female named *Nasmut*, and had another daughter *Stem Amen . . hesi*, 'Satem-amen-hesi' or ". . . esi the auditor of Amen . . ." Assuming Bakrans to be the wife of Amenshau, and . . . esi, buried in coffin No. 10, to be her sister, the following is the genealogical table of this group:—

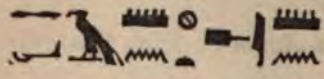
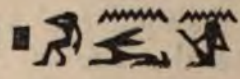
Pet'har [m]=Nasmut [f]

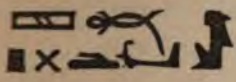
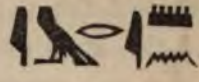
Stem-amen-er-hesi [f] Bakrans [f]=Amenshau [m].

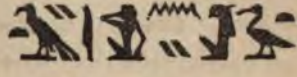
Amenhetp[m]=Tant[f]

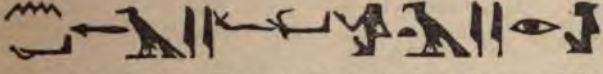
Nasmut [m] Amenheptai [m]. Aruru [f]

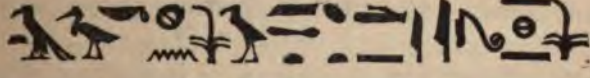
Pakepu [m].

There was also a Nasmut, son of Amenshau. Although the name of his mother did not occur on the coffin No. 17 in which he was buried, and the style was different from that of the others, he was probably of the same family, and his name is accordingly inserted in the table. To this family may also be referred a female of the name of Amenshau. Her coffin does not appear in the series, and may have been one of those left behind in Egypt, but that of  *Aamenkhamen*, a female, No. 9, and  *P-sherenun*, a son, No. 13, were in the group. The first, No. 9, might possibly be the son of the Amenshau of the table, but the other, No. 13, mentioned Amenshau as a female. As, however, the term 'son,' and *sat*, 'daughter,' is used, both may refer to the father rather than the mother, in which latter case the word *mes*, or 'born,' is generally employed. The other persons, although probably members of the same family, were not

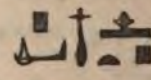
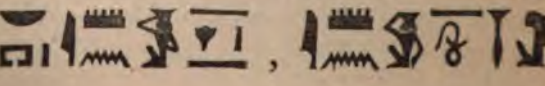
connected with this genealogy. They were, 1,  *Shepshet*, a female, daughter of *Anhatharneb*. This name, Shepenshet, resembles that of the queen Shepenap, of the 25th dynasty, in the first part of the name (No. 1.). 2. *Prefrer*, son of  *Ameramen*, and *Tanana*. 3.

khennuNeferhetp sa Uta f mut f Baba. "The navigator Neferhetp, son of Uga, whose mother is Baba" (No. 5). 4. 

 *Taiani sa t Naifnekht Taiari*, Taiani, daughter of Naifnekht, whose mother's name was Taiari (No. 7). 4.



Tabakkhonsu makhru t sa t Tnaen khonsu Mut s Neb pa Taamen pauga, t Tabakkhonsu, daughter of Tnakhonsu, whose

mother is the lady of the house Taamen-pauga. The name of the father of this lady is remarkable, and places him as older than the persons named after Bocchoris; his name containing, in the first syllable Tna, the commencement of a name taken after that of Tne-ptachthus, the father of Bocchoris, and his predecessor on the throne. In fact, the Hellenized form of his name, Tnechonsis, would closely resemble that of the earlier monarch, and confirms the age of the mummies to the 24th dynasty (No. 11). 5. *Ptaharta* [s] *makhru sa Shepun* "Ptah artas son of Shepun," his mother's name was *Ta kamneben har.* The name of this person ending in 'artas,' like that of Amenartas, and others of the 26th dynasty, shows that the person named lived about that period. His father's name, Shepun, commences also with the same syllable as that of Shepshet, and resembles that of the prænomen of the daughter of Pa-ankhi, attributed to the 24th dynasty, but probably contemporaries of the 25th. At all events, they are later names than Bocchoris, to whose reign this mummy and coffin cannot be assigned, but to a later period (No. 12). 6.  *Petneferhetp*, a person without any genealogy or indication of reign, but in a coffin similar to those already described, and, consequently, to be referred to the same period (No. 14). 7. 

Amenfaenher or *Amenfaenuat*, a lady whose name is written both ways, without any indication of descent or period, but from the style of the coffin also of the 26th dynasty. 8. *Pakata*, a man without any genealogy, apparently of the same period as the others. This name, or a fuller form of it, Amennebpakata (Amen, lord of the seat of the world), is known amongst those which are evidently about the period of the 26th dynasty. It cannot be older than any of the preceding, and is probably later than most of them. The coffin on which it was found was of the same style as the others.

The mode of embalming, and the kind of coffins in use under the different dynasties, varied from time to time, and although a general mode or style prevailed at each epoch, much was left to the caprice or taste of the embalmer. A mummy, with all its paraphernalia, was at all times a work of art; the colours, the decorations, the details, the vignettes or paintings, differed, for reasons at the present day unknown. Under the old empire, simplicity and grandeur prevailed.[7] From the 4th to the 11th dynasty the sarcophagi were of a kind of black basalt, red granite, or calcareous stone, of rectangular shape, with flat or vaulted cover, and four ears or projections at the corners. The inscriptions on these sarcophagi are sepulchral dedications to the gods for the usual sepulchral offerings and benefits at the proper periods

[7] Mariette, 'Monuments du Musée à Boulaq,' 8°, Alexandrie, 1868, p. 37.

of the year. Inside these sarcophagi the mummy was deposited in a wooden coffin, made of boards of cedar or sycomore, pinned together with wooden plugs. This coffin has the shape of the human body mummied, with a face, and when accompanied by an inscription, has a prayer to the goddess Nu, or Nu-t, the firmament, wife of Seb, and mother of Osiris, with whom the dead was assimilated at this early period. Some of the sarcophagi of the 11th dynasty are of rectangular shape, like those of the 4th to the 6th dynasty, but of wood, and of poor execution. Their covers are flat, the ornaments are principally symbolic eyes, and the outsides decorated only with representations of architectural ornaments, with lotus flowers, or plain lines of hieroglyphs. The interiors are covered with chapters from the Ritual or 'Book of the Dead,' traced in black linear hieroglyphs, and pictures of the arms, furniture, equipment, and toilet vases of the deceased. The inner coffins of this period are principally made of a single tree, out of which they are hewn. The face of the coffin is painted of different colours, and the prevalent ornament is the representations of feathers and network. The coffins are full of small objects of the toilet and arms. The mummies are indifferently bandaged, and the mummies dry, yellow, and fragile.[8] A similar style prevailed during the 12th and 13th dynasties, but the use of bitumen commenced, and figurines or amulets, in shape of divinities of the Pantheon, begin to appear. The mode of burial under the 14th and 15th is not known, but was probably the same as that under the preceding, the sepulchres of Thebes

[8] Mariette, 'Musée à Boulaq,' p. 41.

of this period either not having been recognized, or the period being comprised in the later dynasties. Under the 17th, Drah-abou-il-Neggah, the great Theban cemetery of the former dynasties, used for the mummies of the period, was again used, and the coffins exhibit a greater style of magnificence, some of them being entirely gilded, a style of ornament also used for the coffins of the monarchs of the 11th dynasty. Under the 18th dynasty, the amulets and ornaments of the funeral equipment, alter. The little sepulchral figures, the vases for the intestines, or so-called canopic vases, and painted wooden tablets, are found deposited in the tombs. But from this age a different style prevailed at Memphis and Thebes. At Memphis, from the 18th to the 21st dynasties sarcophagi of granite, hewn in shape of mummy cases, were used. They were massive, and ornamented with a vertical line of hieroglyphs, crossed or met by six others, which went over the chest. The hands of the deceased at this time were represented concealed under the bandages. Under the 19th and 20th dynasties, although the sarcophagi are still of hard stone, they are in shape of the deceased lying on his tomb bearded, the hands coming out of the bandages, holding different emblems, and the feet, which are naked, out of the bandages. At Thebes, stone coffins, painted both inside and outside black, with the faces coloured red, or gilded, were in use instead of the stone sarcophagi of Memphis. The eyes of these faces are inlaid with blue glaze; on the chest is painted a vulture flying, and the bands or lines of large hieroglyphs are arranged as at Memphis. Such are the Theban coffins of the beginning of the 18th

dynasty, and they were succeeded by the beautiful coffins of the 19th dynasty, covered with a yellow varnish, and various representations and vignettes of the Ritual, taken from the 125th, or judgment scene, and the 147th chapter of 'Halls and Regions of the Egyptian Hades.' The texts which accompany the pictures are comparatively meagre. The coffins are generally in shape of a mummy wrapped up on a pedestal, and wearing the usual headdress, but sometimes lying on its tombs, the hands detached and coming out of the bandages, earrings in the ears of women, and the dress arranged in folds covering the knees. The interior of these coffins is richly painted with large figures of the principal sepulchral deities, on a dull ground. The usage begins of placing the mummies in three or four coffins, each larger than the other. During this period the Memphian mummies are black and brittle, but loaded with amulets under their bandages, and the large sepulchral scarabæi are in frequent use. At Thebes, the mummies are yellow, and beautifully preserved, the flesh retaining its elasticity. There is, however, no use of amulets, although the fingers of the left hand are loaded with rings and scarabæi, and rituals of papyri are placed inside the coffins, or the bandages of the mummies. The second period of the so-called New Empire of Egypt commences at the 22nd dynasty, and terminates at the end of the 26th. At Thebes, the coffins are carefully made and executed, and highly painted with pictures. The earlier coffins have a background either black or the natural colour of the wood, with red faces, with headdresses of variegated colours. These are succeeded by coffins with a white back-

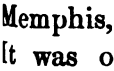
ground, having round the chest or lower part a hieroglyphic inscription in many colours. The cover in front is divided horizontally into compartments, in which are alternately disposed pictures or vignettes from the Ritual or 'Book of the Dead,' and texts traced in blue or green.[9] The mummy is hermetically enclosed in a cartonage, or preparation of linen and lime, moulded over the enwrapped body in shape of the coffin, standing on a pedestal, laced up behind like stays, or else formed of a single piece. These cartonages are painted with various scenes or vignettes in brilliant colours. The vignettes or pictures on these cartonages or pasteboard cases are the same as those on the coffins, and the inscriptions of the same kind, but no two are exactly alike, and caprice, either of the artist or relations, often made them essentially different. It has been also stated that when a mummy was placed in a brilliant cartonage, the coffin in which it was deposited are comparatively unadorned, as if all the expense of decoration had been lavished on the cartonage. Towards the end of the 25th dynasty, the mummies thus decorated were placed in triple or even quadruple coffins, in shape of mummies, with red, pink, or gilded faces; the wood preserves, very often, its natural colour, and the last coffin is square, with pillars at the ends, often with the background painted white, or of the colour of the wood, with large figures, and explanatory texts in dark green. The richest sepulchres from the 23rd to the 26th dynasty are at Thebes, for the sepulchres at Memphis during this period are poor and neglected, the capital

[9] Mariette, l. c. p. 46, says *verdastres*, but green inscriptions are rarely seen in Europe.

having apparently been removed in the interval. It is not till the 26th dynasty that the splendour of the Memphian necropolis was renewed. Such are the observations of M. Mariette on the principal varieties of sepulture, embalming, coffins and cases, which he has examined in the vast cemeteries of Thebes and Memphis. And it is now necessary to examine in detail the coffins and their tenants of the age of the 25th dynasty, brought to England by the Prince of Wales. These coffins and mummies have been presented to the principal learned and scientific institutions of the country, and to the companion of the voyage in Egypt.

None of the mummies of the collection had more than two, or an outer and inner coffin. In many instances the mummy was contained in an outer, not an inner coffin, the inner not probably having been well enough preserved for removal. As certain peculiarities distinguish the outer from the inner coffins, independent of their size, the eye at once detected that in which the mummy had been placed. The bodies, with one exception, had been rifled, or the outer bandages about the head and neck torn in the search instituted by the Arabs for jewellery, ornaments, and amulets. The coffins were either in form of a mummy standing on a plinth, or else, as described by Mariette, the body lying on its chest. The heads were ornamented with the usual head attire, *namms*, striped with many colours. The backgrounds of all were white, and the hieroglyphs usually painted in blue, and of large size. The front or cover was ornamented with scenes and vignettes taken from the Ritual, the chest had usually round it a large line of hieroglyphs

ainted in divers colours, the speech of certain sepulhral deities, or dedication to them, for the usual enefits. This formula, found at all times, periods, nd places, was often repeated on the cover. The eet were usually plain, but on a few coffins Apis was lepicted, bearing a mummy on his back, or alone, galloping to the Western Tombs. Apis was sometimes represented wearing a disk. This subject of the Apis was the more remarkable, as it was found on Theban coffins, and not on those discovered at Memphis, where the bull was locally worshipped. It was only once accompanied by an inscription,

 the hieroglyphs for 'pools,' probably re-

ferring to those of *Hetp*, or Peace, in Elysium, and on one coffin was replaced by the hieroglyph *temt*,

"total, included." As the Apis is not

the subject of any vignette of the Ritual, except he is the bull of the seven mystical cows, or Altar in ch. 145, the appearance of the bull, and its meaning, is really unknown, but on some coffins, and boards from the ends of cartonages, he is painted. This appearance of the Apis on the foot of coffins is not unusual, and is sometimes accompanied by an inscription, mentioning the action. On the foot of a coffin of a priest of Amen, named Pefaakhons,[10] the legend states that 'Apis is taking away' the deceased; and on a board from the feet of a cartonage, or linen envelopes of the mummy of Haha, a deceased priest of Amen Ra, the

[10] British Museum, Egyptian Room, No. 6681.

accompanying inscription says "The Osiris Apis, son of a god, lord of the Empyreal region, ruler of the West, has come. 'The lord of the god comes, he protects the Osiris, divine father [priest] of Amen Haha justified.'"[11] From these inscriptions it is clear that, mystically, Apis was supposed to bear off the mummy to its sepulchre, and to protect it when here. The identity of Osiris Apis with Serapis, and his character as judge of the dead, is already known.

On the crown of the head of some of the coffins was a scarabæus going to the head or face. This insect often occurs, sometimes flying with extended wings, at others, pushing forward the disk of the sun, or signet, emblem of the solar orbit. This insect is not the subject of any ritualistic chapter in connection with the head, but is so with those which refer to the heart. But round the fillets depicted as binding the brows of some mummies which have the scarabæus, is found an address, which connects the image of this beetle with the god Amen Ra.[12] "Hail," says one, "Amen Ra, lord of light . . . . to Ptah Socharis, Anubis raises thy limbs, Thoth lifts up thy good face to see the beauties, thy right eye is in the bark, thy left eye is in the boat, thy brows are to the company of the gods, thy tongue to Horus, thy brows to Anup, thy throat to Ptah, thy heart to the sun, who sees thy beauty." Such is on the coffin of Harnetaf, a high-priest of Amen Ra, who must have flourished in the sixth century B.C. A very similar address occurs on part of the cartonage of a mummy,[13] the only difference being that the invocation is to

[11] British Museum, Egyptian Room, No. 6941*a*.

[12] *Ibid.* No. 6680.

[13] *Ibid.* No. 6959.

Ptah, instead of Amen Ra. It is therefore probably as the representative of these self-made or created gods, that the insect was depicted protecting the head of the mythical Osiris, or dead. It represented Kheper, the self-existent principle of the gods, Ra, or the sun, Ptah, or the demiurgus, and Thoth, or the Logos of the Egyptian Pantheon.

The coffins all had the representation of a rich uskh, or collar, round the neck. This decoration is found on coffins of all periods, and was a copy of that in use during life. It may possibly be the collar of gold of the 158th chapter of the Ritual, the rubrical directions of which state, "Said over a collar of gold, write this upon it, lay it on the neck of the deceased the day of burial." Amulets in shape of this collar of gold are rarely, if ever, found, and the virtues of the painted collar may have been the same as its more valuable representative. After the collar, the next subject or painting of the outer coffin was the Hut, or winged disk, an emblem of common use, but of uncertain meaning. It did not appear on the inner coffin, on which the goddess Nut was painted instead. To this succeeded the scene of the great judgment, the vignette of the 125th chapter of the Ritual, treated in an uniform manner, in this scene and at this period. The god Ra, or the sun, or Osiris, or Socharis, attended by his companion goddesses, Isis, Nephthys, and the four genii of the Amenti, stands before the balance of the Hall of Truth. The heart of the deceased is weighed in the scale against the feathers of Truth; the *Amt*, or devourer, the mystical Cerberus of the Egyptian Hades, having the head and jaws of a crocodile, the body of a hippopota-

mus, and the hind quarters of a lion, is sometimes, but not always, seated on the doorway of the Hades. The cynocephalus of Thoth often appears at the foot of the balance. In these scenes Thoth, ibis-headed, the scribe and recorder of the Hades, announced to Ra, or Osiris, the results of the weighing, and Anup attends to the balance. The rubrical directions of this chapter command that the text should be said by a person "washed and clad in clean linen, with white sandals on his feet, and anointed with a perfumed unguent or pomatum, and making an offering of bread, drink, oxen, geese, and burning incense." The representation is to be painted on a white ground, in yellow colour, or incense, and thrown into a field in which no horse has trod. "If the book or roll be placed upon a person, he is perpetuated to his children's children; he is not injured; he fills the heart, or satisfies his royal circle, probably that of Osiris; bread and wine, and flesh, are given to him off the altars of the great god; he is not divided from the Empyreal gateway of the lord of the West; he is conducted with the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, or the World; he is in the service of Osiris for millions of periods!" This evidently refers to a future state, and shows the benefits supposed to be conferred on the dead by the vignette of the 125th chapter, the text of which was by far too long to be inscribed on the coffin. Both on the outer and inner coffins, this scene of the great judgment had, when complete, accompanying inscriptions.

The scene of the great judgment had generally beneath it the vignette of c. 89 of the Ritual, that of the visit of the soul to the body. The soul was de-

picted as a human-headed bird, flying down to visit or see the mummy, lying at full length on its funeral bier, having beneath it the four jars for holding the viscera, and sometimes the goddesses Isis and Nephthys at the side, or at the head and foot of the bier. The rubric of the 89th chapter, of which this is the vignette, states, "If this chapter is known, his body does not perish, and his soul has never departed from his body for millions of times." This rubric points out the reason of the selection of this vignette, the presence of which upon the coffin was supposed to contribute to the attachment of the soul to the body. On some coffins, instead of this vignette, was one representing the mummy laid out at full length on its bier, attended by the jackal-headed deity Anubis, and also accompanied by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. This is probably the vignette of the 151st chapter of the Ritual. In the Turin Ritual, the god Anubis is not present, and the goddesses Isis and Nephthys kneel, holding their hands over a signet, but the text contains the speeches of Isis, Nephthys, and Anubis, who ought to be present. Anubis states that he has placed his arms over him, for the purpose of making him live; Nephthys calls on him to awake; Isis comes with the vital air, and gives the north wind of Tum to his nostril. The whole symbolizes the revival of the dead Osiris, and, as such, was an appropriate vignette for this portion of the coffin.

For this scene of the embalming was substituted, on some mummies, the vignette of another chapter, viz. the picture of the disk, shedding rays of light upon the mummy, laid at full length on its sepulchral bier, which is the vignette of the 154th chap-

ter of the Ritual, called the chapter of not letting the body pass away, or decay, the vignette standing, as it were, for the whole chapter. Unfortunately, there is no rubric to this chapter, explaining the particular efficacy of it. The principal idea in it is the exit of the soul from the body consequent on the corruption of the body. "It corrupts," says the text, "its soul comes forth after death, it falls after it passes away," when the vital principle, or Eye of Shu, has left the different forms of creation. In the final prayer, "Hail, Osiris! my flesh is with thee; thou art not filth, thou art not worms, thou art not raised, thou art not corruption, thou art not dust, thou art not changed into worms, the Eye of Shu has not passed away. I am, I live, I grow, I wake in peace, or I dream peace, I am not choked, I am not strangled. My foulness passes not, my ear is not deaf, my head and neck are not placed, my tongue is not taken away, it is not cut off, my brow is not grey, no injury is done to my body, it does not waste away, it is not strangled in this land for ever and ever!" This evidently shows that the object of the chapter was to prevent the corruption of the body, upon the preservation of which the soul depended, and the body was supposed, in the later texts, to grow, *mat*, or be renewed, *renpa*, in the tomb for ever. It lay in the *sha*, or gate of the western region of the heaven. The function of the soul was to come forth, *pr*, and assume whatever shape it chose, either on earth or in Hades. Hence such expressions as "thy soul comes forth alive,"[14]

pr ba k em ankh, is found,

[14] Pectoral Plate, Brit. Mus., No. 7858.

while the body or mummy was considered to be shaped or transformed into a god, or Osiris.[15] In connection with this vignette, and at the side of it, are other vignettes, with winged hawks, emblems of the deity Socharis. At the foot, above the ankles, on some coffins, was the *akhem*, or mummied hawk, having on each side a symbolic eye. This, too, was an emblem of Socharis, as shown by the hieroglyphic legends in the compartment, which were the speech of the god; but it probably is the hawk of the vignette of the 71st chapter, that "of stopping the depredators of the soul or body, and not being taken in Hades." There is no rubric attached to this chapter, detailing the manner in which it is to be written, or its peculiar efficacy, but the vignette represents the mummied hawk and cow, and the prayer in it is addressed to the hawk, which comes forth from the celestial abîme, and who is lord of the great Mahen cow, which typified the celestial firmament. At this portion of the coffin, the demons or genii of the halls and staircase of the Aahlu, or Elysium, were sometimes introduced. These are the vignettes of the 147th and 149th chapter of the Ritual. The chests of the outer coffins were usually ornamented with a line of large hieroglyphs, painted in various colours, consisting of a dedication to the usual sepulchral deities on behalf of the deceased. The gods principally mentioned were Ra, or the sun, Tum or Atum, the setting sun, Ptah-Socharis, the lord of the tomb or sepulchre, and Osiris, who dwells in the west. The benefits conferred by the gods were the usual offerings of food for the dead, and the other objects

[15] Leemans's Mon. Égypt. du Mus. de Pays-Bas à Leide, III. partie xxv.

in which the life of a god consisted. In the inside of the chest, sometimes accompanied by large hieroglyphs, painted in various colours, were the deities Socharis, Isis, Nephthys, Nut with the same type, Athor, or the goddess of the west, sometimes full face. When most complete, the mummy of the deceased was considered to be overshadowed by the goddess Nut, placed on the inner side of the cover, reposing on Socharis, or the goddess of the west, who presided over the tombs. When the back of the inner coffin was ornamented on the exterior, the usual object represented was the Tat, or so-called Nilometer, the emblem of stability, and of the god Osiris. The inner coffins were made, like the outer ones, of sycomore wood, and painted and decorated in the same manner; distinguished, however, by one or two differences. They had the goddess *Nut* painted on the chest, instead of the Hut. This goddess is the vignette of a prayer found on three of the oldest coffins of the Egyptian monarchy, and probably formed part of the oldest Ritual. In the Mencheres coffin, the formula says, "O deceased king, born of Heaven, issue of Nut, child of Seb! Thy mother Nut is extended over thee in her name of mystery of the Heaven. She has made thee to be as god; annihilated are thy enemies, O king!"[16] In fuller expressions of this prayer, Nut is invoking as spreading her wings over the deceased, who becomes like the incorruptible and incessant stars, and does not die a second time in the Hades, and the soul comes forth and does as it wishes.[17] The

[16] 'Zeitschrift für ägyptische Spräche und Alterthumskunde,' 1869, p. 11.

[17] On the sarcophagus of Seti I., Nu-t declares that she protects the naos of the bark. Pierret, Sarcophage de Seti I., Rev. Arch., 1870, p. 6.

goddess is also said to spread out her hands and drive away the darkness. She was also mystically the mystery of heaven, the great protectress, the funeral and the steps.

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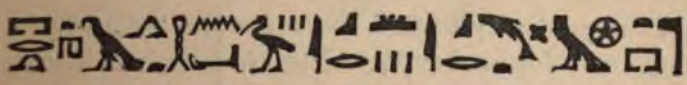

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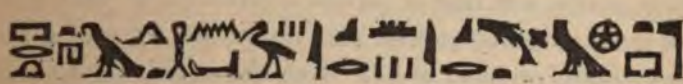

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X.—ON THE DOUBLE PERSONALITY OF THE HAMLET OF SAXO GRAMMATICUS—THE HAMLET OF SHAKESPEAR—ITS RELATION TO THE GERMAN HAMLET.

BY DR. R. G. LATHAM, M.A., M.D., ETC.

(Read November 22, 1871.)

SAXO GRAMMATICUS lived in Denmark during the latter half of the twelfth century, and wrote a work on the history of his country,—the 'Historia Danica;' his friend, patron, and instigator being Absalon, Archbishop of Lund. His father and grandfather held respectable offices in the state. He was born not much before, nor yet long after, 1150. His work was begun after 1177. Little as this information amounts to, it is nearly all we have; nor is this little absolutely beyond cavil. It has even been doubted, for instance, whether he were a native of Denmark, the name *Saxo* suggesting a German origin. It seems, however, to have passed into a proper name before the end of the eleventh century. When it took the honourable addition of *Grammaticus* is uncertain.

Of authorities, in the strict sense of the term, Saxo quotes only two,—Beda and Dudo of St. Quentin, both incidentally. He made, however, application to the learned men of the day, and resorted to the traditionary lore of the Icelanders. Thirdly, he quotes certain passages from certain poets, but, as

they are in Latin and anonymous, the value of them is uncertain. Are they originals or translations? They occur chiefly in the earlier books. His cotemporary Snorro Sturleson, in his 'Heimskringla,' or 'History of the Kings of Norway,' written in the vernacular Icelandic, makes similar references. His quotations, however, are in the original language and the original metres, and generally the name of the composers accompanies them. Upon the whole, then, we have a fair general notion of what Saxo means by the *carmina antiqua.* Occasionally we can trace them in the prose narrative by their alliteration.

The true illustration, however, of Saxo is to be found in the age to which he belonged. Neither he nor his cotemporaries had anything like systematic, critical, or adequately informed predecessors. In the way of actual testimony they had nothing but that of the men of their own generation for the events of their own time. Application to the oldest of these cotemporaries led them generally into the region of tradition. Latin accounts, when they delivered new matter, would rarely transcend the introduction of Christianity; even the *carmina antiqua* would generally consist of allusions to events supposed to be generally known rather than of explicit narratives.

About any English sources Saxo says nothing beyond his reference to Beda. The only parts, however, of the earlier narrative which point in the direction of genuine history are English. This is because occasionally, exceptionally, and under very favourable circumstances, an event or individual may be common to the history of two nations, of which the

records of the one are older than those of the other, but at the same time accessible to the younger. When such happens, a piece of real or approximate history may be obtained. If so, it stands by itself, isolated, and, as such, contrasted with what precedes and what follows it. This is the way in which the Britons knew about Cassivelaunus, Cynobelinus, and the like; not because there were any native records to say who they were and what they did, but because certain Romans had written about them, and certain Britons had read what they wrote. Beyond all this, there were certain floating names, narratives, and inferences wearing the garb of tradition, of which the best that could be said is that where there is a superstructure there is a foundation, or, more simply, where there is smoke there is fire.

Saxo's age, however, either required or produced something more than this; for it was the age of the early French romances, the age of poems in Germany like the 'Nibelungen-lied,' the age of a wholly new literature in the vernacular languages, and of certain very peculiar and characteristic forms of Latin prose. They passed for history; logography, however, would be the better name. That any writer willingly and consciously sat down to concoct a systematic series of dynasties with the view of extending the antiquity of his county to such or such Scriptural or Classical date, is what few believe; but that sooner or later most countries produced a work in which such an extension is to be found, is beyond doubt; and one of these is the 'Historia Danica,' another being the 'British History' of Geoffrey of Monmouth. There are others, but these best illus-

rate both one another and the age which produced them.

We may call this constructive chronology; though I again guard myself against the supposition that I consider either Geoffrey or Saxo as wilful and conscious constructors. How the system grew up is doubtful. It culminated, however, in more countries than one about the same time,—the time under notice.

How it grew we cannot say; but now that we have got it, we can analyse it.

The common-sense method of treating lists of kings which logographies of this kind give us is to take the two extremes, either of which supplies us with a starting-point. We know that the newest is historical; we know that the earliest is not. We may begin, in British history, with Cassivelaunus and the evidence of Julius Cæsar, or we may begin with Brutus, the eponymus of Britain, and no evidence whatsoever.

This principle is universal in its application, though it need not always be applied. Sometimes we see all that it gives us by mere inspection; at others, it has special complications that keep it in the background. It is always, however, implied. In the following series the most historical part lies near the middle. The thirty-eighth king is a cotemporary of Charlemagne; and, as this brings him on the confines of continuous history, the list is here made to end with him.

1. *Humble I.* (word for word *Hamblet.*)
2. Dan I.
3. *Humble II.* (*vide supra*) and Lother.
4. Skiold.
5. Gram.
6. *Guthorm* and Hading.
7. *Frotho I.*
8. *Halfdan.*

9. Roe.
10. Scato.
11. Helgo.
12. *Rolvo.*
13. Hother.
14. *Röricus.*
15. *Vikletus.*
16. *Vermundus.*
17. *Uffo.*
18. Dan II.
19. HUGLETUS (*melius* HUGLEKUS).
20. Frotho II.
21. Fridlev.
22. Frotho III.
23. Frotho IV.
24. *Ingeld.*
25. Frotho V.
26. *Haldan.*
27. *Sivald.*
28. *Sigurd.*
29. Five Kings.
30. Harold Hildetand.
31. Olo.
32. Omundus.
33. Syvardus.
34. Buthlus.
35. Jarmeric.
36. Snio.
37. Gormo.
38. *Götricus.*

To these must be added, from the Danish dynasties in Ireland, *Amblaibh Cuaran*, or *Anlaf Cwiran*, and from the kings of Norway, *Olaf Kyrre.*

Now it is not in accordance with the rules of rhetoric to address the argument to the eye rather than the understanding, and to throw the proper duties of the writer upon the printer. Nevertheless, it is clear that in the preceding list a great deal is indicated by the italics. This is, firstly, because the question is so complicated that no means whatever of abating its complexity should be neglected; and secondly, because a general view of the import of several names separated from one another by occasional intervals is absolutely necessary as a preliminary. *Hugletus* has a value of its own. *Vikletus*, *Vermundus*, *Uffo* have theirs. The others, in italic, have theirs; and, in a smaller degree, every name on the list has a value of some kind or other.

The reasons for the predominance of the italicized names are as follow. They apply to persons who are mentioned in compositions other than Scandinavian, and as such have a prerogative claim to something like historical value. Anglo-Saxon England notices *Guthorm*, *Halfdan*, *Frotho*, and *Ingeld*, so that we find these names on both sides of the German Ocean. But the Anglo-Saxon history is, for the time, obscure. Of one of the two, either *Sigurd* or *Sivald*, or (more probably) a mixture of the two, there are notices in both the German and English literatures; and, though neither of these is absolutely authoritative, the concurrence of the evidence is better than no secondary confirmation at all. Of Rolvo and Röricus more will be said hereafter. The remaining names, as far as Sigurd, which are printed in ordinary type, are only found in the Old Norse narratives, Norwegian, Swedish, or Icelandic, which differ from those of Denmark only in degree. Between Sigurd and Götricus the bearing of the names upon the present argument is less direct.

Now *Vikletus*, *Vermundus*, and *Uffo* are names of which the slightly altered forms *Wiglaf*, *Wærmund*, and *Offa* appear in the Anglo-Saxon poem 'Beowulf,' where they belong to men of the same generation; herein giving us a slight deviation from the text of Saxo, where they are grandfather, son, and grandson respectively. This, however, has never induced a single commentator to hesitate in identifying them. They differ, too, in the details of their history. Nevertheless their connection has always been allowed. Nor is this strange, provided that we do not take it for more than it is worth. It is not supposed that

an accurate history can be got either out of the 'Historia Danica' or the poem of 'Beowulf,' nor yet out of the two combined. It is only believed that the same characters are to be found, to a considerable extent, in both. And surely this is the case; for, besides these, the names of Halfdan, Frotho (one or more), and Ingeld are common to the two compositions. Still Viklet, Vermund, and Uffo have the prerogative. They are most closely connected with one another, not only in Saxo's history and the poem, but elsewhere. They appear in more than one of the Anglo-Saxon genealogies, and here, as in Saxo, in sequence rather than as mere cotemporaries.

The order in the genealogies is (1) Wiglaf, (2) Wærmund, (3) Offa, and that wherever we find the names. More than this, in two English biographies of King Offa, of which more will be said as we proceed, the name of Offa and Vermund reappear, and in the local traditions of Warwickshire they appear again. On the other hand it is only in Saxo that they are connected with either Hamlet or Röric. In 'Beowulf' Wiglaf appears to be the youngest of the three, and Wærmund the oldest. They are not, however, as in Saxo, father, son, and grandson, though this (be it noted) is what they are in the genealogies.

Upon the name *Hugletus* so much depends that we must begin with putting it into its right form, by changing the *t* into *k*. In doing this we merely follow our predecessors, the earlier of whom had less evidence in favour of the change than has since been supplied by the later ones. The same is the case with the *t* in Vikletus, and something very like it with the *th* of Amle*th*us.

Laying aside the manifestly erroneous Huhles*th*, we have the four following forms,—(1, 2) Hugle*k* and Hugle*g*, (3) Hugla*f*, and (4) Hugle*t*, the last being, decidedly, the worst. It is found, as we see, in Saxo; it is also found in two of his successors, the author of the 'Chronicon Erici Regis,' and Petrus Olaus; but it is found nowhere else. Huthle*f*, too, is found but once. In all the other lists the spelling is either with a *k* or a *g*.

(v.)

Roric Slaganbogi.	Uffi.
Wiglaff.	Dan.
Wermund.	*Huglekr.*

Frothi hin Frökni.

(vi.)

Röric Slanggenbögi.	Vffa.
Vinglet.	Dan.
Ouermund Blinde.	*Huglekr.*

Frothi hin Frökni.

(vii.)[1]

Dan.	Hughlek.

Frothi.

Thirdly, there is, in Saxo himself, a second Hugle*t*us, a king of Ireland. The story, however, which is told of him is one which reappears in the 'Heimskringla.' There he is a king of Sweden, and Huhlei*k*r is his name. Saxo's form, then, is a bad one; so that, as a great deal depends upon it, it is fortunate that it is so easily corrected.

Now, for more than half a century it has been

[1] The numerals are those of the divisions in the first volume of Langebek's 'Scriptores.' Roric is here contemporary with Röricus, who is contemporary with Amlethus; Uffo is wanting; but Vermund is blind. See pp. 5—and 70, 71.

acknowledged that, word for word, this *Huhleikr* is the Norse form of the Anglo-Saxon *Hygelác*, or *Higelác*, one of the heroes in 'Beowulf,' and (what is more important) that both are, word for word, *Chochilaicus*, or *Chochelagus*, the name of a Danish sea-king who, in the beginning of the sixth century, was killed in the Netherlands,—the authority being no less than that of Gregory of Tours, whose important work on the early history of the Franks was composed within sixty years of the event.[2]

This brings us to the high and exceptional value assigned to the name *Huglet*, or, in the full Latin form, *Hugletus;* for upon this name, along with the assumptions that connect it with another, nine-tenths of the present argument depends.

"His gestis, Dani cum rege suo, nomine *Chochilaicho*, evectu navali per mare Gallias appetunt. Eggressi ad terras pagum unum de regno Theuderici devastant atque captivant, oneratisque navibus tam de captivis quam de reliquis spoliis reverti ad patriam cupiunt. Sed rex eorum in litus residebat, donec naves altum mare comprehenderent, ipse deinceps secuturus. Quod cum Theuderico nunciatum fuisset, Theudebertum, filium suum, in illas partes cum magno exercitu ac magno armorum apparatu direxit. Qui, interfecto rege, hostes navali prœlio superatos opprimit, omnemque rapinam terræ restituit."—*Gregorius Turonensis, 'Historia Ecclesiastica Francorum,'* iii. 3.

An anonymous historian, above seventy years afterwards, whose work is, to a great extent, a reproduction of Gregory's, repeats the account, with an important

[2] The credit of identifying Hygelac with Cochilaigus belongs to Outzen, in his paper "Ueber das Angelsächsische Beowulfs Gedicht," in the 'Kieler Blätter' (1816?).—*Thorpe, Translation of 'Beowulf,' Preface*, xxv.

addition, for he tells us that the action took place in the district of the Attuarii.

"In illo tempore Dani cum rege suo, nomine *Cochilago*, cum navale hoste per altum mare Gallias appetunt, Theuderico pagum *Attoarius* et alios devastantes atque captivantes plenas naves de captivis habentes, alto mare intrantes, rex eorum ad litus maris resedit. Quod cum Theuderico nunciatum fuisset, Theudebertum, filium suum, cum magno excercitu in illis partibus dirigens, qui, consequens eos, pugnavit cum eis cæde maxima, atque ipsis prostratis, regem eorum interfecit, prædam tulit et in terram suam restituit."—*Gesta Rerum Francorum*, cxix.

Theudebert was the son of Diedrich (Thierry), the son of Clovis. He was the king of Austrasian Franks,and the date of the descent is A.D. 515 or 516.

A notice that merely tells us that a pirate, who was a Dane, was in a certain year killed in a certain part of the Netherlands, tells us little enough; and, in some respects, tells us worse than nothing, inasmuch as, from the simple impossibility of contradiction, it enables the speculator to take any action of any hero of the same or a similar name, and to connect or identify the two. To a man who is merely known to have died A.D. 516, any exploit within fifty years anterior to that date, and within a limited though somewhat wide range of circumstances, may be attributed. All that can be said, on the first view, as an abatement of this objection, is that the name is a scarce one. It is not one like Olaf, or Harold, or Knut, and a host of others. There is but one Chochilaicus in actual history.

A little more can be got by supposing that, though but one of his deeds (and that the last) is recorded,

he may have been, like the brave men who lived before Agamemnon, a hero of much prowess, and of great, though forgotten, renown. And such seems to have been the case. There was a legend in one of the islands of the mouth of the Rhine, that *Hinglaue*, the king of the *Geats*, was a man of such gigantic stature that, when he was but twelve years of age, no horse could carry him; in proof of which were his bones, which are still to be seen in the island under notice. It would be well if the geologist, by the aid of the tradition, if it still exist, would ascertain the exact locality of the gigantic fossil—saurian or mammalian, as the case may be—which is thus identified with the great sea-king of the sixth century. As for the legend itself, we know with what it is connected, viz. the similar story as to the size of Rolf Ganger, or Rodolf, Raoul, Rollo or Rou, The *Walker*. From its simplicity, and from the slightness in the alteration of the name, this, the Rhenish legend, may pass for the oldest of the notices of Chochilaicus; and, if it be still current, for the one that lasted the longest. In this the great hero is a *Geat*, a term to which we shall soon make a second allusion.

Thirdly, the date of his death was a peculiar one. It belongs to that pre-eminently obscure period between the evacuation of Britain by the Romans and the introduction of Christianity into England under the Frank missionaries. How utterly destitute this era is for definite data in the history of Scandinavia need only be hinted at. That it was but little better in England is best known to those who have examined critically the evidence of what is called the

Anglo-Saxon Conquest, concerning the Ellas, the Cerdics, the Idas, the Stufs, the Wihtgars, the Ceawlins, *et hoc genus omne*, who founded such and such kingdoms in such and such years. Saving the Franks, there are no Germans who can show for this century such a date as that of the death of Chochilaicus; and this is from a Frank writer in Latin. Never, however, was there a period during which a hero, who is known only through his death in the Netherlands, was more likely to have done something, during the days of his activity, on the other side of the German Ocean, than the year A.D. 615. Neither is there any era during which the record of it was more likely to have been lost; or, if not wholly lost, to have been converted into a matter of inference. This means that Chochilaicus was sufficiently a man of note to justify us in associating with his personal history such names as come within probable conditions, and if any such associations connect him with England, they favour rather than impugn the identification.

Fourthly, and this, though it rests on negative evidence, has been long recognized, comes the fact that, whatever it may be in other respects, Chochilaicus is the first name in Danish[3] history, and it is part of the present treatise to show that upon this much depends.

[3] "Der Angriff auf den Gau der Hattuarien um das Jahr 515, aus dem sie von Theodebert, Theoderichs Sohn, mit Verlust ihres Anführers zurückgetrieben wurden, ist der erste Däneneinfall, dessen die fränkischen Annalisten gedenken."—*Zeuss, Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, pp. 508–9.

A notice of a collision between the Danes and the Heruli is a few years earlier than this defeat of Chochilaicus. In the notice, however of this event there are no names of any of the individual agents.

Having thus shown a reason for giving the Hugletus of Saxo a predominance over even Vikletus, Vermundus, and Uffo, we now look to his place both in real history and in Saxo's list of kings. In this he is the nineteenth. Three only, (or at most but four, Guthorm, Frotho I., Halfdan, and Rolvo (the sixth, seventh, eighth, and twelfth) bear historical names; but they seem to be names out of their proper place *i.e.* antedated.

The second, Dan I., is an eponymus.

The first, Humble I., is a pro-eponymus, a term, and one upon which more will be said in the sequel.

The third, Humble II., is Humble I. repeated. His co-regent, Lothar, seems to be in the same category with Guthorm, etc.

The fourth is *Skiold*, an eponymus to the dynasty of the *Skioldings*.

The fifth is Gram.

The ninth (the intermediate ones have been already noticed) is Roe, the founder of Roeskilde, much, no doubt, as King Lud of London was the builder of Ludgate.

The tenth and eleventh are Scato and Helgo; the first a divine, the second an heroic name; each mythic rather than historical.

The twelfth is Rolvo, already mentioned.

The thirteenth, Hother, is mythic. In his days Odin and Balder visited Denmark.

The fourteenth, Röric, is merely, so far as the long narrative connected with his reign is concerned, the Amlethus (or rather the Amleth*i*) of the third and fourth books, though he may be something else besides.

The fifteenth, Viklet, is the successor of Röric, under whom Hamlet's history is continued and brought to a conclusion.

The sixteenth, Vermund, is Uffo's father, Uffo being to Vermund much as Hamlet was to Röric.

The seventeenth, Uffo mysterious and brave as he was during his father's reign, is, after his accession to the throne, no better than Röric. He, doubtless, did great things, but the record is lost. His reign is dispatched in about ten lines, more than half of which are devoted to telling us that there is nothing to be said about it. But more will be said about Uffo hereafter. What, however, we must most especially do with him is this: we must separate Uffo, the son of Vermund, (the Crown Prince, so to say,) from Uffo the King, as decidedly as we are about to separate the Amlethus of the third book from the Amlethus of the fourth.

Then comes Dan II., a repetition of Dan I., the eponymus, he being the eighteenth on the list.

Huglet is the nineteenth, Huglet being, so far as he is Chochilaicus, expressly a *Dane*.

Now what is the difference between *Huglek*, as he will henceforth be called, as the nineteenth king of Denmark in Saxo's list, and *Chochilaicus*, as the bearer of the first name in Danish history? Certainly not the difference between One and Nineteen; for when the two Dans are eliminated as eponymi; and the two Humbles as pro-eponymi; and Guthorm, Frotho, and Halfdan, as antedated; and the rest of first fourteen as a mixture of myth and inference; and Röric as a mere lay-figure in the history of Amlethus; and Viklet, Vermund, and Uffo, as

English rather than Danish;—what, I ask, when we have done all this, remains between Huglek and the head of the list? Nothing.

This is our method when we deal with the list as we find it. The place, however, of Huglet in respect to Gormo suggests another explanation. It is with Gormo that the genuine and continuous history of Denmark is considered to begin; so that both Gormo and Huglek stand at the head of a list. Now the differences in position between these two names is so nearly the difference between those of Huglekus and Humblus, that the probability of Saxo's long serial list being made out of two shorter parallel ones suggests itself, and, as two lists of this kind would consist of twenty names each, these are just the ones every logographer would devise who had been taught to look upon Gorm as the twentieth King of Denmark, counted from either the eponymic Dan or the exceptionally historical Chochilaicus.

That any such calculation was afloat when the two hypothetical lists were first constructed is not known to the present writer by anything like evidence. It is a mere inference from the fact of such relations between two epochs being, whether real or supposed, common in the history of logography, combined with the way in which the present assumption squares with the fact of the two catalogues. In order to bring the two halves into an exact equality some little manipulation is required. The conjoint kings, Humbles II. and Lothar, and Guthorm and Hading may be separated. One of the two Humbles may be omitted. The five kings may be treated as one, and some of the Frothos may be omitted. But, even without this, Dan II.

and Huglekus come very close upon the middle of the list; and that each of these is just the name with which a list begins is evident. Dan II., as the head of one list out of two, is in the place of Dan I., an eponymus. Huglekus has a similar place as the first historic Dane. This he is as the representative of Chochilaicus. Humble, however, is in the same place as Amlethus in his character of Huglek; while, as Humble I., he is the father of Dan II. But Dan II. is the son of Uffo. Uffo, however, is Olaus Mansuetus, who is, again, the Amlethus of the third book. I do not say that all this gives us even half elements of the dislocation and confusion here suggested. I only say that if a succession of equations of this kind is to be accounted for, it will not be accounted for by the mere chapter of accidents.

As a point in the credibility of early Danish history this train of criticism would be important, and much might be said in its favour. For the present purpose it is enough for Huglek to be at the head of some list or other; and this he is according to either of the views here exhibited.

Place for place, then, and name for name, *Huglek* and *Chocilaicus*, though not identical, are very near one another. *Huglek* is the first probable king; *Chochilaicus* the first actual historical hero in Denmark. For *Chochilaicus* write *Hygelác*, and the difference between the names is diminished. And of both of them this may be predicated,—they are the names of the first historical Dane who has come down to us with a name at all.

This is the coincidence which most especially commands our attention. The extent to which Danish

history, after the time of Chochilaicus and Huglek, becomes regular and consecutive is a widely different question, and one to which the answer must be given in the negative. There is certainly a gap between Chochilaicus and the Danes of the eighth century. It is almost as certain that the list of the immediate successors of Huglek is inaccurate. Nevertheless, Frotho II. is more in his proper place than Frotho I.; and so it is with the Halfdans. Indeed, the worst of the names between Huglet and Gorm is in a better predicament than the best of the Dans and Humbles; than Hother, Helgo, Scato, Gram, or Skiold.

Now comes the time for the introduction of a rule which would, if practicable, have been introduced at even an earlier stage of this dissertation. It will be either repeated or alluded to more than once during this work. It will come in at the end, even as it has appeared at the beginning, and is continued throughout; for it is fundamental and essential to the whole line of argument. Yet it is a mere receipt for reading Saxo; or, if we choose our illustration from another quarter, a mere guide-post at the beginning of a journey. We must never, however, either overlook or neglect it.

There is a Third Book and a Fourth Book in Saxo, and between these the reign of the king named Röricus is divided (no other reign being so distributed),—and in the first of these the history of Hamlet begins and in the second ends. Nominally, it is the reign of Röricus; actually, it is the story of Hamlet. Röricus is something less than an Agamemnon. Hamlet is something more than an Achilles. Röricus is next to nowhere; Hamlet is all but every-

where. The points, however, to be borne in mind are that there is not one Hamlet, but two; and that the Hamlet of the third book is a different person from the Hamlet of the fourth. This rule is absolute; and, more than this, it is only with the Hamlet of the third book that the Hamlet of Shakespear coincides. The Hamlet of Saxo's third book has little more to do with the Hamlet of the fourth than Shakespear's Hamlet has to do with Shakespear's Macbeth. If there be a fraction of overstatement in this illustration it must be excused. The difference between the two is the difference (to use an old illustration) of Alexander the Great and Alexander the Coppersmith. We shall lose much more by undervaluing than by exaggerating it. There is some connection, some confusion, some action and reaction between them; but in all the essentials, the two Hamlets are, to speak irreverently,—

"Two single gentlemen rolled into one."

Such is the Amlethus, or, rather, the pair of Amlethi of Saxo.

With this pre-eminence given to Hugletus we naturally expect to find that his reign, whether long or short, is treated as one of importance.

The whole history, however, of Huglet as we find it in Saxo is as follows:—

"Post hunc regnat Hugletus, qui Hömothum et Högrimum, Svetiæ tyrannos maritimo fertur oppressisse conflictu."

And the notice of it by another writer is equally concise; indeed, it is almost an abridgement of the preceding:—

"Tha var Dan Kunung Uffa sun, ok Huhlek Kunung Uffa sun, han drap tva höfthinga af Suerike, Hemoth ok Hagrim."

This disappoints us. Two lines, along with an unsatisfactory editorial note, is little for the first king of a dynasty and a kingdom, especially when the bearer of the name has been mentioned, with the circumstances of time and place, by the historian of a distant country.

But it is the doctrine of the present writer that no such mutilation of the due proportions of Huglekus really exists. He *has* his history, or what passes for such, and, so far as the mere mass of detail is concerned, it is no smaller than our presumptions make it. How far it is historical is another question.

It is submitted, subject to future argument, that the narrative proper due to *Huglekus* has been transferred to *Amlethus*, and in Saxo's *fourth* book it is to be found under that name. This means that in the fourth book we may read *Huglekus* for *Amlethus*. How this comes to pass is a question which may stand over for a time.

At present it is sufficient to say that the main evidence of the change lies (1) in the results to which it leads, or the harmony or symmetry of the system which arises out of them; and (2) in the ease with which the chief difficulty, the difference between the *words* Huglekus and Amlethus, is surmounted.

In the first place, it converts the trio formed by Viklet, Vermund, and Uffo, into a quaternion, by which the agreement between Saxo and Beowulf is notably increased.

Saxo.	Beowulf.
Huglekus.	Higelac.
Vikletus.	Wiglaf.
Vermundus.	Garmund.
Uffo.	Offa.

From which it follows that so far as the Amlethus of the fourth book is *Huglek* or *Chochilaicus*, he is also *Higelác*, and, *vice versâ*, Higelác is Amlethus. That Higelác and Huglek give Chochilaicus is, it must be, remembered, no new doctrine. The new doctrine, innovation, paradox, suggestion, discovery, interpretation, or whatever it may be called, is that Huglekus is Amlethus. Here, indeed, and no earlier, the present criticism begins. It proceeds by bringing *Havelok*, the Dane, into the same category with *Huglek*, Higelac, and Chochilaicus.

It is only, however, the Amlethus of the *fourth* book who is compared with Huglekus and his parallels, equivalents, or *aliases*.

The Hamlet of the *third* book is Uffo (as *Crown Prince*) who (as *King*) becomes *Olaus Mansuetus*.

But *Olaus Mansuetus* is, *as name*, much the same as Olaus *Tranquillus;* which is a recognized translation of Olaf *Kyrre;* which is, combination for combination, the Anglo-Saxon *Anlaf Cwiran*, and the Irish *Ambhlaibh Cuaran*. Just, however, as *Olaf* thus fuses with the adjunct *Cuaran*, so does *Havelok*, which comes from Higelác and Chochilaicus. From *Ambhlaibh* it is now submitted that *Amlethus* is an admissible transition. The difficulty, however, of connecting the two names is not supposed to be one between two *words*. It is a confusion between two *individuals*.

So much for the names. How far the details in the way of narrative and evidence support this view must be collected from the sequel. All that need be adduced before we proceed to the *minutiæ* of the question is the notice that it is upon the result, taken as a whole, rather than from the evidence that pre-

sents itself at each successive step, that the judgment of the reader must be founded.

A writer who professedly makes his investigations on the principle of finding something like an Ariadnean thread to the mysteries of a labyrinth, rather than the topographical details of the maze itself, as after its exploration it could be represented by a map, must tax the reader's patience on two points. He must not be asked to make his exposition interesting by leading him gradually up to unexpected results, and so stimulate his curiosity. The reader must see the plan beforehand. He must look upon the subject as a theorem, rather than a problem. His interest, if he have any in the matter, must be concentrated on the evidence by which it stands or falls, rather than upon any curious result which the inquiry may lead to. But this requires him to tolerate occasional repetitions and occasional anticipations. Of these there shall be as few as possible. Still, there will be some.

HIGELAC.

Between the death of Cochilaicus and the date of the single known existing manuscript of Beowulf there is an interval of about[4] five hundred years, during which time the name of the Danish sea-king was exposed to all the chances of an imperfect record, —perhaps to those of a mere tradition; and this in three different countries; *i. e.* by inference, in Britain

[4] Unfortunately, as of Cædmon and the Codex Exoniensis, there is only a single manuscript of Beowulf extant, which I take to be of the first half of the eleventh century.—*Thorpe, Translation of 'Beowulf,' Preface*, xi.

(which we may now call England), in Denmark, and in the Netherlands. How it survived its bearer in this last country we have seen; for the origin of the tradition is, doubtless, older than the notice of it, and the notice of it is from writers several centuries after the event. The bones that gave rise to it may still exist, —possibly in some well-frequented geological museum, with an able exposition of their real nature, and a Greek name for the extinct animal to which they originally belonged. The title, however, of the traditional proprietor, *Huiglauc*, is genuine.

As far, then, as the outward and visible signs of fame are concerned, the great name of the first of the historical Danes is concealed for four centuries, and when it appears in the poem of Beowulf, it is not that of the hero and protagonist, but that of a secondary personage; secondary, however, only as a hero. In rank he is the superior to Beowulf, and, in a composition especially appropriated to himself, he would, perhaps, be at least his equal in heroism. As it is, he is as Agamemnon to an Achilles, or as Charlemagne to Roland. However, even thus, he is always mentioned as a man of a sufficient note to be alluded to without explanation, or as one of whom an adequate knowledge might be taken for granted. At present, this is as much as need be said. Actual parallelism is not to be expected where in one narrative the name of the person compared is that of a secondary character, in the other, that of a protagonist.

There is another caution to be inculcated. Chochilaicus is a Danish Rink. Higelac is a *Geat*, which may be either *Goth* or *Jute*, the latter being its more natural meaning. But though called a *Geat*, there

is much which connects him with Englishmen, for Wærmund, Offa, and Wiglaf, his cotemporaries, are English. The present doctrine which makes him a a *Dane* of *Jutland*, settled in *England*, reconciles these discrepancies,—discrepancies upon which much criticism has been bestowed.

The poem itself, which may almost claim the honourable title of epic, consisting of more than six thousand lines, though written in the short alliterative metre of the Anglo-Saxons, is, when compared with the incidents essential to its structure, a long one. For these are eminently simple. Three fights with three monsters (one of them being against two at once), in the first two of which Beowulf is victorious, but in the last of which he is killed, form the nucleus of it. All beyond is episode and allusion, for which the feasts in celebration of his victories, and other adventitious narratives, supply opportunities. Individually, I think it gives us at least three shorter poems fused into one; so that the elements are older than the final form. This, while it subtracts from its unity, adds to the antiquity of its subject-matter.

Hrothgar builds a palace named Heorot, of which all that we know for certain is that it stood in the neighbourhood of a fen, perhaps a Danish, perhaps an English one. Here he is seriously plagued by a water-fiend named Grendel. Him Beowulf conquers, and episodes follow. Then he conquers him along with his mother,—the devil and the devil's dam; and similar episodical allusions succeed. Finally, he is himself killed by a fire-drake. In the last struggle Wiglaf helps him. With this exception all the other characters are but loosely connected with the main

action. Higelác, however, has the foremost place among them, though even here he is secondary. But there are two Beowulfs: Beowulf the Scylding, and Beowulf the Wægmunding, the latter being the true hero.

The most special piece of evidence that identifies *Higelác* with *Chochilaicus*, both as word for word, and man for man, is the following:—

> The quarrel was formed,
> Fierce against *the* Hugas,
> After *Hygelac* came,
> Faring with a naval force
> To Friesland;
> Where him the *Hetwæras*
> In war vanquished.
> 5819–5825.

As *Hetwaras* is *Attoarii*, which is *Chattuarii*, the letter change from *ch* to *h* is verified for both names, and the connection of *Chochilaicus* with the *Chattuarii* is that of *Higelác* with the *Hetwæras*.

So much for the locality. The date of Higelac is that of Hengist; for Hnæf[5] the Hocing, Hrothgar the Dane, Higelac the Geat, and Hengest the Jute, are all vassals under Healfdene. On the other hand, Fin is the king of the Frisians, and Hildeburh is his queen. Hnæf is slain in a murderous battle against him. A truce follows, when the body of Hnæf is burnt. Hengist meditates, and finally takes, his revenge on Fin; and when Fin is slain, Hildeburh is

[5] In Latin this would be *Cneph*, or *Cniva Chaucus*, Hnæf being a true German name. It is from some one of Hnæf's that Hanover has been believed to take its name.

borne off to Denmark. A connection, however, with Hengest cannot be said to prove a connection with England. It merely suggests a presumption of one.

In respect to his genealogy, Higelac is the son of Hrethel; and Herebeald and Hætheyn are his brothers. Thus:—

Hrethel

Herebeald Hætheyn Higelac

Of whom Beowulf says:—

> Hrethel, the king,
> Gave we treasure and feasting,
> Of our kinship was mindful,
> I was not to him, in life,
> In aught more welcome,
> A warrior in his burghs
> Than any of his children,
> Herebeald and Hætheyn,
> Or my Higelac.
>
> 4852–4860.

Now, this is not incompatible with the descent of Chochilaicus; for Chochilaicus, like Melchizedek, so far as history is concerned, has neither father nor mother. He may be any one's son, and any one may be credited with his parentage. He may or may not, then, have been the son of Hrethel. I do not, however, imagine that he was so, and I doubt whether Higelac was; or, rather, I treat the consideration of the question as irrelevant. It seems pretty certain that the father of Chochilaicus, *eo nomine* and *totidem literis*, was unknown, and the same may be said in respect to his representative. Higelac's parentage is certainly possible, but it is the only one which is so.

The father of Huglekus is Dan II.; a name which tallies very well with the fact of the bearer's son being the first of the historical Danes, but which is anything but favourable to the notion of his having been a real individual. Of Havelok, the father is Birkabeyn; of Hamlet, Horvendil;—both, for widely different reasons, impossible parents.

With Havelok Higelác agrees in his connection with England; with the Amlethus of the Fourth Book in a similar connection with England, and his superadded relations with Wiglaf, Wærmund, and Offa. Of anything beyond this, in the way of either a connection or dissociated, there are only two pieces of detail which deserve notice.

Of extracts, however, like the following—

When from home had heard
Higelac's thane (*i. e.* Beowulf)
(A good man among the Geats)
Of Grendel's deeds;
Who of mankind was
In power strongest
In that day
Of this life
Noble and vigorous
He bade for him a wave-traverser
Good be prepared.
390–400.

there are perhaps as many as twenty. They are all, however, to the same purpose; all general and indefinite; all limited to the statement, slightly changed according to the circumstance, of the relation between Higelác and Beowulf being that of lord and thane. The two that are sufficiently special to command a fuller exposition relate to Higelác,—

1. As the possessor of the Brosinga-mén;
2. As the husband of Hygd.

This is to be compared with Hamlet's Shield; Hamlet being, of course, the Amlethus of Saxo's

Fourth Book. Such, too, is also the case with the second extracts. Higelac and the Amlethus of Book III. are wholly incommensurable.

(1.)

THE BROSINGA-MEN.

Thorpe's Translation.

To him the cup was borne,
and friendly invitation
in word offer'd,
and twisted gold
kindly shown,
sleeves two,
a mantle and rings,
of collars the largest
of those that I on earth
have heard tell of:
not any under heaven I
more excellent have heard of
treasure-hoard of men,
since Hama bore off
to the noble bright city
the Brosings' necklace,
the jewel and its casket:
he into the guileful enmity fell
of Eormenric;
and chose th' eternal council.
That ring had
Hygelac the Goth,
Swerting's nephew,
the last time
when he under his banner
his treasure defended,
guarded the spoil of the slain:
him fate took off,
after he for pride
sought his own woe,
a war with the Frisians:
he the ornament convey'd,
the precious stones,
over the cup of waves,
the powerful king;
he fell beneath his shield:
departed then into the grasp of the Franks
the king's life,
his breast-weeds,
and the collar also:
worse warriors
plunder'd the fall'n,
after the lot of war;
the Goths' people
held the mansion of the dead.

2390–2432.

2.

THE LADY HYGD.

She is to be compared with Hamlet's bad wife.

Thorpe's Translation.

The mansion was excellent,
a chief renown'd the king;
high *the* hall;
Hygd very young,
wise, well-nurtur'd,
though winters few
amid *the* burgh-enclosure
had abided
Hæreth's daughter;
although she was not mean,
nor of gifts too sparing
to *the* Goths' people,
of treasure-acquisitions,
yet violence of mood mov'd
the folks' bold queen,
crime appalling.
No one durst that
beast address,
of *the* dear companions,
save her wedded lord,
who on her daily
with eyes gazed;
but to him *a* death-band
decreed, calculated,
hand-bound,
was quickly after,
after *the* hand-grasp,
with *the* sword resolv'd,
so that the pernicious brand
must decide,
the deadly bale make known;
such is no feminine usage
or a woman to practise,
although she be beautiful,
that a peace-weaver
machinate *to deprive* of life
after burning anger
a dear man;
at least with that reproached
her
Heming's son,
while drinking ale;
Others said,
that she dire evils
less perpetrated,
direful iniquities,
after *she* was first,
given gold-adorned,
to *the* young warrior,
the noble beast,
after she Offa's court,
over *the* fallow flood,
through *her* father's counsel,
by journey sought,
where she afterwards well,
on *the* throne,
the good and great
life's creations
living enjoy'd,
high love entertained
towards the prince of heroes,
of all mankind,
as I have heard
the best
between the seas,
of the human race;
for Offa was,
for gifts and wars
(*a* bold man in arms)
widely honour'd;
he in wisdom held
his country;

from him[6] Eomer sprang
for help to heroes
Heming's son
Garmund's grandson
mighty in conflict.

ll. 3929.

"The preceding digression about Hygd and Offa," remarks Mr. Thorpe in a note, "is barely intelligible." It points, however, to some dark traits in Hygd's character. After Higelác's death, she first offers her hand to Beowulf, who refuses it. That she marries Offa we have just seen. So mysterious, however, are her conjugal relations, that, though Thorpe makes her Higelác's wife, Kemble can scarcely say whether she is Higelác's or Offa's. However, Higelác is now dead, slain in Friesland.

Nor was that least
of hand-meetings,
where Hygelac was slain,
when *the* Goths' king.
In war onslaughts,
the lordly friend of nations,
In the Frieslands,
Hrethel's offspring,
Sword-drunken perished,
By *the* falchion beaten.
Thence Beowulf came
By *his* own power,
The need of swimming suffer'd;
He had on his arm
. . . . . thirty
War-equipments.
When he to *the* sea went down.
Not *the Hetwœras*
Had need of exultation
In that host of war,
Who in front against him
Bore the linden;
Few again came
From that warlike darer,
Their home to visit;
Swam over the seal's course
Ecgtheow's son (*i. e.* Beowulf),
a poor solitary,
Again to his people,
Where him Hygd offer'd
Treasure and realm,
Rings and princely throne:
In her child she trusted not,
That he against foreign folks
His paternal seats
Could hold.
Then was Hygelac dead,
Yet not for that sooner *the* poor *people*
Could prevail

[6] Compare *Eumer* suborned by Curchelm to stab Edwin, King of Northumberland.

with the prince
on any account,
That he to Heardred (Hygelac's son)
would be Lord,
or the kingdom
would choose;
Yet he him among *his* people
With friendly instructions maintain'd
Kindly with honour;
Until he became older
And ruled the Weder-Goths.

ll. 4747.

The Brosinga-mén and Hygd have been noticed thus fully, not so much because they are the two special details connected with the name of Higelác, but because they will both be met with again.

Havelok the Dane.

The interval between the recognized date of Beowulf and the earliest notice of Havelok the Dane is about[7] two hundred years, and very important ones they are; since, upon the connection between Havelok with Higelác or Chochilaicus, who goes before, and Amlethus, who follows after him, nine-tenths of the present treatise depends.

Havelok stands like Janus, looking both ways. We must consider him as the bearer of a name, and we must consider the story connected with him. It is in the latter respect that he differs most notably from Higelác and Chochilaicus. In Beowulf Higelác is only a secondary character; in the romance that bears his name Havelok is all-in-all, and we may add that the two poems are of a widely different character. As for Chochilaicus it has already been stated that all we know of him is that he lived and died, and that in probably three countries he left his mark behind him; beyond this, however, he is merely

[7] See note p. 21.

the owner of a name round which attributes and narratives, generally heterogeneous, and almost always foreign to the historical individual, as round some organic nucleus, have gravitated and accumulated; and that to such a degree that the original Chochilaicus, if not wholly transmuted, ends in being the least part of himself. Sometimes we are fortunate enough to trace these accretions to their own proper sources; in which case we get, by the method of exclusion, some approximation to the real personality of the central or fundamental figure. With this we must generally be content. I think that with Havelok and Chochilaicus we can, certainly, do thus much, and I fear we can do no more.

Chochilaicus, Hinglauc, Higelac, and Havelok are the same names; and, so far as the bearer of them was a single hero, the three are one. In the supposed bones of the giant of the Netherlands, the historical sea-king undoubtedly left his mark on the Lower Rhine; and he is further supposed to have left them in Britain in the stories of Higelac and Havelok. As a Dane, then, on English ground, and as a king or captain of note, we may make a guess about Chochilaicus; but further than this we may not profess to do anything. All beyond is the history of certain foreign additions which his fame has brought within the sphere of its attraction.

This we must clearly understand; for it is on one point only that the comparison of *Havelok* with *Higelac* is clear enough to speak for itself, or to stand on its own merits, independent of *primâ facie* objections. This point is the name. Word for word, *Havelok* is merely the Danish form of *Higelac*, and

Higelác, the Anglo-Saxon of *Havelok*. In the details, however, of the two narratives there is no such likeness. Indeed there is, to some extent, a contrast. Whether this has prevented the connection between the poem of Beowulf, so far as it relates to Higelac and the Havelok romances being recognized, is more than I can say. It may have done so or it may not. I could certainly, for the sake of the present argument, have wished that the relation here suggested had, by having been recognized by some of my predecessors, come down to me as an admitted fact, and that the identity of Havelok and Higelac stood in the same category with that of Higelac and Chochilaicus. On the other hand it must be remembered that it was not until the eleventh hour that the two poems on Havelok were known to the public. Outzen knew nothing about them; and though the two texts were published during the days of both Kemble and Thorpe, they were not published until each of those scholars had gone far enough in his study of Beowulf to have formed an opinion independent of them. Such, in my mind, is the true explanation of their silence; at any rate I should be sorry to think that the comparison of Havelok and Higelac was one which they had condemned rather than overlooked. The importance of the double connection here claimed for Havelok is beyond doubt. He is more like Higelac in name than in deed. He is more like Amlethus in deed than in name.

But what if there are two claimants to the very name, and two claimants to the actions connected with it? Such is the case. If it were not so, our task would be easy; for it would merely consist in

the elimination of the manifestly adventitious elements from the stories of the French and English Havelok; the result being that Havelok, like Higelac and Chochilaicus, was a Danish king or captain who left his mark in England during the sixth cencentury, etc., as has just been stated. But, even when this is obtained, we are unfortunately in the dark, inasmuch as we are not sure of his relation to the history of either England or Denmark, inasmuch as there is a second historical hero of whom both Danish blood and English notoriety may be predicated; and, what is more perplexing still, he bears a name which might pass into that of *Havelok*.

It has long been known that the name of Havelok appears in the story of the famous Guy, Earl of Warwick, who, by killing the Norwegian giant Colbrand, freed Northumberland from its allegiance to the Danes, to which it had been subject since the time of Ha*n*elocke. It is hard to believe that this *n* is not properly a *v*; indeed the substitution may be a mere clerical error. The passage runs thus:—

"Athelstone lay at Winchestre, and the king of Denmark sent ynto him an harowde of armes, to witte, whether he wold fynde a man to fight with Colbrande for the right of the kyngdom of Northumbr, that the Danes had claimed before by the title of Kyng *Haneloke*, that wedded Goldesburge, the king's daughter of Northumbr."

As however it was Havelok who married Goldesburg, it is Havelok who is here indicated. Only, however, in this special extract. In the following, though the spelling is the same, and the event alluded to the same, Ha*n*elok is a different person, and, what is more, a real historical one.

"But or Guy went that man him tolde,
That the King was in cases colde,
The King of Denmarke, *Hanelocke,*
And the King of Norway, *Conelocke.*"

Here Ha*n*elocke is the associate of Conelocke, who is an Irishman of the tenth century.

"An. DCCCCXLIV. Blacar expulsus e Dublinio, et *Amlaf* ei succedit. Pars gentis O'Cannanorum occisa per *Congalac,* et *Amlaf Cuaran* in Conallia."—*Annales Uttonienses.*

The same names, with the same spelling, appear again in 946–7. In the Irish, of which the Latin is a translation, *Amlaf* is spelt *Amlaip.* Anelaphus is also an English form.

Bodl. Laud. 636.	*Cott. Dom. A.* VIII.
An. DCCCC . XLIX. Her com Anlaf *Cwiran* on Norð hymbraland.	An. DCCCC. XLIX. Her com Anlaf *Cwiran* on Norðhymbraland.
An. DCCCC.L., DCCCC.LI.	An. DCCCC.L., DCCCC.LI.
An. DCCCC.LII. Her Norð-hymbre fordrifan Anlaf cyning, and underfongon [8]Yric Haroldes sunu.	An. DCCCC.LII. Her Norð-hymbre fordriuon Anelaf cing . and underfengon Yric Haroldes sunu.

The reason why the particular MSS. give the adjunct *Cwiran* will soon become evident. There is confusion here, but it does not affect the important word under notice.[9] There is confusion, but we can see our way through it. There are two series of names which were originally different, but which here become confluent, or rather, proceeding from opposite points meet and mix midway; not without

[8] *Eric* is the name of the usurping uncle in the Dramatis Personæ of the *German* "Hamlet" and Warner's tale of "Argentile and Curan."

[9] Sax. Chron.

antagonism. Thus on one side we have Chochilaicus, Higelac, and Havelok; on the other, Olaus, Olaf, and Anlaf; whilst at the point of contact between the two lines we get, applied to the same person, Ha*n*elock, which points to Ha*v*elok, and Anela*ph*, which suggests Anlaf. Which is *our* hero? Both or neither. It is this very confusion or ambiguity which helps to the mystery of his personality.

It must not seem strange that notwithstanding all the associations which connect Hamlet, Prince of Denmark and a Scandinavian, along with the reasons here given for identifying *Havelok the Dane* with *Chocilaicus* the result should be that, of all countries in the world, Ireland is the one to which the Amlethus of Saxo must be directly referred. That some such form as *Amlaf* is needed to account for the change of name is simply part and parcel of the present line of criticism, and so is the doctrine that Ireland is the country which supplies it. But it may naturally be argued by those to whom Ireland seems an impossible source, that such a necessity, by proving too much, invalidates the whole train of reasoning. Be it so. But is Ireland in reality thus impossible? Is it even improbable? Is it not rather one of the first countries towards which we look? Next to Great Britain and Germany, and perhaps Finland, Ireland was the country which the Scandinavians looked upon with the most interest. When Iceland was discovered, and it was a question whether it had ever before been trodden by the foot of man, the possibly prior population was referred to Ireland. The holy island of Iona, Irish in language, though Scotch in geography, was as

much Norwegian as Irish. The important work upon history, geography, and history, written *exceptionally* in the Old Norse of Norway rather than in that of Iceland, the 'Mirrour of Kings,' gives more space to what then passed for the topography, the geography, and the history of Ireland than to all the other descriptions of all the other parts of the world put together. Thirdly, the Irish Annals give us not less than four different *Amlafs* as kings either of Ireland or of certain parts of it. The date of Amlaf Cuaran is A.D. 950. The Amlaf who was defeated at Brunanburg was just dead. Then, assigned to A.D. 850, or a full century earlier, we[10] find Amelaus, or Amelavus, as king of Dublin, with two other of his countrymen and brothers ruling contemporaneously in Limeric and Waterford. Finally, whatever may be the difficulty in determining the origin of the story of Saxo's Amlethus, it is the unanimous opinion of the commentators that it is not to be found in Scandinavia. No such name occurs in any Icelandic record; for, though there exists a Hamlet's Saga, it is acknowledged to be founded on Saxo's narrative, —the source of Saxo's narrative being as uncertain as ever.

After an anticipation of objections like this it seems useless to add that, after all, it is not in Ireland that we must look for the *original* source. *Olaf*, the son of Sihtric, began, as a historical king, either in Scandinavia or as a Scandinavian. His name in England took the form of *Anlaf*. In Ireland it became *Amhlaf*. It reached—probably through the Orkneys and Norway—Denmark in

[10] Only, however, in the later writers.

a form which in Latin became *Amlethus;* and, as it had passed through the English and Irish languages before, it is no wonder that it was not recognized on its return to its native country. It had been so altered during its passage through two languages as to look like a stranger. Still less was it like *Hugleik*, or *Hugletus.* In fact, then, Amlethus is English after the fashion of Vermundus, Vikletus, and Uffo; but changed, in both form and import, from having passed through Ireland. The history of the two countries fully sustains this hypothesis.

Thus far the association of He*n*elok with Congalac on the one side, and with Goldsburgh on the other, has been our only evidence in favour of names so unlike as Olaus and Chochilaicus taking the *same* form. It can now be improved; and that by attending to the import of the word *Cuaran* or *Cwiran*, which has already presented itself twice; in the 'Ulster Annals' and in the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.' The date, however, of the events with which it is connected is one thing, the entry of the name itself another. The latter may much later than the former.

Now Anlaf Cwiran and Amblabh Cuaran point beyond doubt to Olaf the son of Sihtric. The Cuaran of the following continuation points as undoubtedly to Havelok the Dane.

> *Haveloc* fut cit roi nomé
> Et *Cuaran* est appellée.
> Pour ces vus voit de lui conter
> Et s'aventure remembrer;
> Q'un lai en firent li Breton,
> Et l'appellèrent de son non
> Et Haveloc et *Cuarant.*
>
> *Gaimar,* ll. 17–23.

The following passage, from the same poem, more important still, gives us the reason he was so called, or the origin of the word *Cuaran*. It is one, however, which has never been confirmed, and one that merely represents the fancy of either the writer or some of his authorities. The Danish is the language in which, ere long, we shall discover its import. At present, however, let us note the contents of the extract. Havelok is a hewer of wood, a drawer of water, and a washer of dishes; a strong churl nevertheless, and liberal to his fellow-servants. Whenever a piece of bread or a slice of meat might be welcome to them, he gave it them willingly. Indeed, his excess of liberality, easiness of temper, and the pleasure he took in serving others, made him pass for something like a fool. So they called him Cuaran, which in the Breton language means *Quistron*.

Merveillous fés poeit lever,
Busche taiiler, ewe porter.
Les esquielles recevoit
Et après manger les lavoit;
Et quant-qu'il poeit purchacer,
Pièce de char ou pain enter,
Mult le donoit volentiers
As valets et as esquiers.
Tant estoit franc et deboneire,
Qe tuz voloit lur pleisir fere.
Pur la franchise qe il ont
Entre eux le tenoient pur sot;
De lui fesoient lur deduit,
Cuaran l'appelloient tuit;
Car ceo tenoient li Breton
En lur language *quistron*.

Ibid., ll. 244–360.

It is Gaimar's Chronicle from which these extracts are taken. Passages, however, with a similar import occur in the French version of the Romance,—in the French, but not in the English. With this limitation, however, the evidence of the fusion is amply adequate. This is what we find in the twelfth century. Just before the end of the sixteenth, Warner, one of the minor poets of the Elizabethan period, published his long and once popular poem, entitled 'Albion's England,' in which the tale of Argentile and Curan forms a well-known episode. It is founded on the story of Havelok the Dane. It is, too, either founded on the Romance or the same version of the story. At any rate, the name of the heroine is Argentile, and not, as in the English, Goldsborough; and the name of the hero is *Curan*, not Havelok,—not Havelok *Curan*, but *Curan* purely and simply.

Such is the evidence of the confusion between Havelok and Anlaf; no matter how it may be accounted for, or, indeed, whether it can be accounted for at all. It is a confusion between Havelok and Anlaf as man and man; not between "*Havelok*" and "*Hamlet*" as word and word. It is a mixture of personalities; not a matter of letter-changes. The husband of Goldsburgh and the Cuaran of Warner's poem are one individual; the associate of Conelok in Ireland is another.

It is in this stage, then, of the development of our legend to which the important change of name is to be referred; and we shall find that it does not stand alone. We now, for the first time, find elements which indicate the Hamlet of Saxo's *Third* Book.

Such is his connection with the kitchen. Warner calls Curan a "scullion" *totidem literis.* It is to the kitchen that Saxo's Hamlet is banished by his uncle. It is the kitchen and the cellar which one of his biographers makes the chief resorts of Uffo.[11] Like Hamlet, too, and Uffo, Havelok Cuaran passes for anything but a wise man; though, as his story proceeds, he undeceives the world upon this point. This is what is done by both Uffo and Hamlet. Lastly, we have already seen that Uffo was also called Olaus *Mansuetus*, and we shall soon see that of *Olaus Mansuetus Anlaf Cuaran* (or *Amblaibh Cuaran*) is something more than a legitimate translation.

The Amlethus of Saxo's Third Book.

Gorvendil, Hamlet's grandfather, has two sons,—Horvendil, Hamlet's father, and Fengo, the murderous brother and the usurping uncle.

The members of the Hamlet family are not royal, but hold territory in either Sleswick or Jutland, under Röric, the true king of Denmark, whose capital is at Leire.

Röric has a daughter named Grytha, whom he gives in marriage to Horvendil, and she is Hamlet's mother. He has also a son, Vikletus, to whom Hamlet (in the Fourth Book) acts much as Fengo had acted towards himself, as a usurping *nephew.* This *maternal* uncle of Hamlet plays an important part in the history of Hamlet when we read it in full.

[11] "Nam ab infantia præfatus Uffo ventris indulgebat ingluvici, et, Epicurorum more, *coquinæ* et cellario alternum officiose impendebat." —*Historia Regum Daneæ*, ch. 1.

Horvendil had won the hand of Grytha by his victories over the famous Norwegian viking Kollar and his sister Sela, also over the Slaves and Courlanders.

As soon as an opportunity presented itself, Fengo murdered his brother; for, "perceiving himself strong enough to execute his enterprise, Horvendill, his brother, being at a banquet with his friends, [he] sodainely set upon him, whene he slew him as traitorously, as cunningly he purged himself of so detestable a murther to his subjects; for that before he had any violent or bloody handes, or once committed parricide upon his brother, he had incestuously abused his wife, whose honour hee ought as well to have sought and procured as traiterously he pursued and effected his destruction." There was, then, no mystery about Horvendil's murder, so that no ghost was needed to reveal it.

The persecution of the son coincided with the marriage of the mother; and with these began the simulated madness.

Hamlet, after his father's death and his mother's marriage, instead of being treated with insincere kindness, is, from the first, degraded and humiliated. He is banished to the kitchen, and, by the kitchen fire, he makes playthings of bits of wood. These he cuts or whittles into barbed skewers and hooks, and when asked what they are meant for, replies, "to revenge my father's murder." He passes for either an idiot or a lunatic, but there is always method in his madness. It is thoroughly fictitious. The only sign of folly that Hamlet shows is his extreme candour. He makes no secret of what he means. It is

no easy matter, however, to sustain a double import throughout a series of sayings and doings; nor are Saxo's examples of the happiest. Sometimes he gives us a piece of practical buffoonery, as when Hamlet rides a horse with his head towards the animal's tail. One speech, perhaps, "darkens to sublimity," for he says of a ship's rudder that "it is a knife for a big hog,"—the ocean. But of images like these the old Scandinavian poetry is full, and over-full.

The details of Hamlet's temptation differ. The novel gives the fewest of them. Here Hamlet is "viciously provoked" by a gentlewoman, he being previously conducted by a set of courtiers to a solitary place within the woods. Of these one was his foster-brother (collactaneus), who "by certain signes" gives Hamlet "intelligence to what danger he was likely if by any meanes he seemed to obaye, or once like the wanton and vicious provocations of a gentlewoman sent thither by his uncle." This abashed the prince, for he loved the lady, and the lady loved him; they having also been foster-children, — "uterque eosdem infantes procuratores habuerit. Domum itaque reductus, cunctis an Veneri indulgisset, per ludibrum interrogantibus puellam a se construpratam fætetur. Puella de ea re interrogata nihil eum tale gessisse perhibuit." There is a good deal of cross-questioning, and not a little *equivoque* in the examination of this matter. Neither the questions, however, nor the answers are worth giving.

The "certain signes" by which the friend of Hamlet contrived to inform him that he was watched gives us a riddle which certainly required a wise

man to rede. It taxed the ingenuity of Hamlet, and it has certainly perplexed the commentators. The prince's monitor, however, catches a horsefly, gadfly, or waterfly (*œstrus*), and impaling it with a straw sets its free. How it was to find its way to the bower of Hamlet and his gentlewoman we know not. However, it reaches them; and when Hamlet sees it, takes warning accordingly. How Hamlet read the riddle we are not informed. Müller reads it is a sign that, inasmuch as insects are not given to impale themselves, human beings must be in the neighbourhood:—

"Considerans enim, quonam aptuis modo occultum monitoris officium exequi periculosamque juvenis lasciviam præcurrere posset, repertam humi paleam œstri prætervolantis caudæ submittendum curavit. Eget deinde ipsum in ea potissimum loca, quibus Amlethum in esse cognovit; eoque facto maximum incanto beneficium attulit. Nec callidius transmissum indicium, quam cognitum fuit. Siquidem Amlethus, viso œstro simulque stramine, quod caudæ insitum gestabat, curiosius per notato, tacitum cavendæ fraudis monitum intellexit."

It is possible that in the following passage this *œstrus* may be reproduced, *Osric* being the *man of the waterfly*, or the friend who served Hamlet under his temptation, as opposed to Horatio, who seems to have nothing to do with it, answers to which, "in the decent obscurity of a learned language," we have alluded, it is decided that Hamlet must be mad; yet, at the same time, in the opinion of his uncle at least, dangerous.

Then follows the interview with his mother, and the killing of Polonius,—the spied spy. Hamlet

enters, crowing and flapping his arms like a cock; then, suspecting an eaves-dropper, and whipping out his sword kills the prying counsellor through the arras. But he does not as Shakespear, and even in Belleforest cry "a rat, a rat." For the rest, however, of the scene the translator and original agree, and when we learn that in so doing they tell us how the dead body is cut up, boiled, and given to the hogs, not to mention other details equally nauseous, we are glad that the dramatist has ignored their narrative.

The voyage to England now suggests itself; for Fengo is still both supicious and fearful; fearful of the queen and her father. So bethinking himself of a king of England (his name is unknown), he sends Hamlet to him with letters. The letters, which the bearer opens during the voyage, are to the effect that Hamlet shall be put to death; upon reading which, they are altered accordingly. What then the king of England reads is as follows—that the two companions and conductors of Hamlet's voyage are to be executed, and that Hamlet himself is to be married to the king's daughter.

Now, on leaving Denmark, Hamlet, who had visited his mother, had privily prevailed upon her to undertake to cover the walls of a chamber with tapestry, held up by means of loops and pullies, and, at the end of a year to enact a false funeral service over himself as if dead. While this was doing he would present himself alive.

We may now ask how he fared in England. One of Saxo's doctrines is, that there was not only in Hamlet's equivocal answers a great deal of wisdom,

but that his whole conduct, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, was characterized by the strictest adherence to the truth. Whatever may have been the case in Denmark, his conscientiousness deserts him as he approaches England. His companions present the letters, altered as they have been to their own disadvantage, but the king dissimulates, and invites them to a feast. Nothing, however, will Hamlet touch; so that as far as he is concerned the banquet is taken off untasted. As this excites wonder, a spy is set upon Hamlet to hear what he and his friends say when, before retiring for the night, they talk over the events of the day; the leading topic being Hamlet's strange behaviour at the feast.

"Why, when abstinence was an insult to his host, would he neither eat nor drink?"

"How should I," said the prince, "when the bread was bloody, and the drink smacked of iron, and the meat had the taste of man's flesh? The king, too, has the visage of a slave, while the queen thrice comported herself like a serving-maid."

There was no doubt now about his madness; only, however, among his immediate hearers. The king, on the contrary, opined that the man who spoke thus was quite as likely to be a sage as a simpleton, "Supra mortalium habitum aut sapere aut desipere." So the steward is examined about the bread, when he owns that the field in which the corn was grown had been manured with human bones from a neighbouring battle-field. The meat? The pigs had battened on the rotten carcase of a robber. The drink (hydromel)? Some rusty swords were found

in the water, and the bees that made the honey (as in Sampson's honeycomb) had been bred in a carrion.

But, if these answers satisfied the king as to the soundness of Hamlet's understauding, they disturbed him as to the question of his own legitimacy. What if the charge against himself of being the son of a slave were as valid as the exceptions taken to the viands? His mother, however, when cross-questioned, owned that she had disgraced herself. The only problem now standing over was the alleged vulgarity of the queen. What were the three points that betrayed her? Hamlet alone can answer this. The first was that she covered her head with a cloak.

"Free women," says the commentator, "wore caps which servants did not; so that the latter, when they went out in the air, pulled their cloaks over their heads."

The second was, that she wore her gown tucked-up. The third that she picked her teeth during her meals. Of a son-in-law with wisdom like this any monarch might be proud. So his daughter is betrothed to Hamlet at once, and within four-and-twenty hours the two attendants are hanged. And here disappears, to everyone but the over-partial Saxo, the last trace of our hero's vaunted truthfulness. Nothing is more agreeable to Hamlet than the execution. Yet he affects disapproval, and clothes himself with virtuous indignation. He puts also, as the price of his forgiveness, a large sum of gold. This he melts down, and encases in the hollow of two truncheons; with which, and after passing them off as ordinary staves of wood, he leaves England for Denmark in the twelfth month of his visit, according to the previous

arrangement with his mother. Denmark he reaches on the anniversary of his departure. His mother had declared him dead, so that, in fact, he came as a mourner at his own funeral. We shall now do well to remember his instructions about the hangings, *texilibus nodis*, also about the skewers and daggers, with which we cut and carved in the days when he lived in the kitchen, and, connected with which there was a prophetic explanation of their import.

Now, however, he meets the funeral procession as a man alive, and is put upon the bier like a corpse; squalid in his garb, rambling in his talk. Some of the followers look serious; more, however, fall to gibing and jesting. "Where are your mates—those that went to England with you?"

"Here," says Hamlet, holding out his two truncheons with their cores of gold. "Now this," writes Saxo, still stickling for the latent veraciousness of all his hero's sayings and doings was "both a good jest and a good truth, for what was the gold which the truncheons enclosed but the compensation-money for their deaths, and, as such, their equivalents?" The feast begins, and Hamlet mixes with the waiters, careful that no one shall want drink; but, in order that he may move more freely, he girds his sword on his side, taking care to be continually pulling it out; yet, at the same time, handling it so unskilfully that he cuts his fingers. To stop this, the attendants nail the blade to the sheath. Meanwhile the drinking increases, and all become drunk. The time for Hamlet's old machinations having arrived, the hangings with the knots are let down upon the staggering and sleeping carousers, and the hooks and skewers

that had been charred in the kitchen-fire, are fixed in them as pegs. In short, when the whole company is covered, as by a big casting-net, a torch is applied, and the whole crew, with the single exception of the usurping uncle, burnt to death.

For him another fate is reserved. He had gone to bed before the drinking had reached its height, with his sword by his side on the bed. This Hamlet takes to himself, leaving his owd, which, from having its blade and sheath nailed together, was useless in its place. We anticipate the result, especially when we call to mind the change of foils between Laertes and Hamlet in the closing scene of the play. Fengo is awakened, and hears from Hamlet the fate of his courtiers. He hears, too, what use has been made of the hooks and skewers; and, lastly, that the hour has at length come when the murderer of Horvendil is to meet his just punishment. He grasps his sword, which is, of course, as useless as a broken reed; so that his nephew kills him without either difficulty or remorse.

The Amlethus of Saxo's Fourth Book.

With the death of Fengo, the fratricide, the *third* book of Saxo ends; and, if the parallel between the Shakesperian and the Saxonian Hamlets ran on all-fours, the history of Hamlet would end also. What, however, we actually find in Saxo is the very reverse of this; indeed the Hamlet of the *fourth* book is the reverse of his former self. We may *almost* say that the heroes of the two books are two different individuals, so slight is the connection between them.

The Hamlet of the fourth book is no weakling in any sense of the word, neither is he either fool or idiot, natural or pretending. On the contrary, he is a warrior of the true Norse type, and a politician and strategist of unrivalled cunning. It cannot, however, be denied that, different as the Hamlets of the third and fourth books are from one another, there is nevertheless some sort of a connection between them; or, perhaps, it would be better to say there is a link between the two books. To me, however, it looks very like the links between the different stories in Ovid's 'Metamorphoses;' links which belong to the artificial concatenation of the narrative, rather than to any natural cohesion between the parts of the subject-matter. There is a reference to his former condition, and there is a speech in justification of his conduct; for less than this we can scarcely expect. Then there is the forging of a shield; no ordinary piece of armour. On it are represented all the events of his previous life, with wonderful minuteness, and in the exact order of their occurrence. The description in Saxo is well nigh as elaborate as the work of the metallurgist. In the details it reminds us of the two famous shields of the Iliad and the Æneid, and of more than one magic mirror. The present writer compares it with the more truly Scandinavian Brosinga-mén.

His court in Denmark being now established with more than ordinary magnificence, in strong contrast to the squalour and misery of his days of his persecution, and, a trusty friend being chosen, Hamlet has now only to visit England and return with his wife, sure of a welcome from her royal father. But here his

troubles are destined to begin afresh, and the connection between the two books is closer than it has been. It possibly may be called organic. At the same time the events that follow might have easily been narrated without it.

There was a solemn pact and promise between his father-in-law and his uncle Fengo, that if one of them died a violent death, the other should avenge it. But here it is a son-in-law who should be the victim. Nevertheless, the king makes his choice between his duty and his affections, and resolves to plot against the life of Hamlet.

Throwing off the squalor of his previous life, he is now, with the limitation of Roric's suzerainty, the Prince of Denmark. He has only to visit his wife and her royal father to be made welcome; but here comes in the pact. The king of England and Fengo were pledged to avenge the death of the first who should die, should the death be a violent one. So after a struggle of conflicting feelings, the claims of friendship, and the sanctity of promises of the kind prevailed, and it is settled that Hamlet shall be made away with, but not by Fengo's own hand. There is a terrible female in Scotland, queen and virgin, fair of face, fierce of temper, strong and dangerous, hating marriage and scorning men; and above all things, formidable, if not fatal, to such as are tempted to court her. Her will the king,—for he is a widower, woo by proxy; in which capacity Hamlet is sent forth.

So Hamlet proceeds, with something between an army and a retinue, to Scotland, where he falls asleep. There is a pleasant dale, and he puts his shield under his head, with the letters in his pocket, and falls into

a mid-day slumber. The gist of the letters are what we anticipate—a death-warrant to the bearer. But the virago queen sees him as he dozes, and sends a crafty knave with orders to pluck the shield from the back of his head, and to fetch the letters from his side. This he does, and they are read by his mistress. Then her real nature comes out. It is only *old* men she dislikes, and Hamlet is not old. The letters have, of course, been previously altered, to the effect that she is to be wooed by the bearer. To this she has no objection. What she now lays upon her scout is a difficult task; he must take the letters and put them back where he found them, also the shield, Meanwhile Hamlet has become awake—widely so. So when the scout returns and puts both letters and shield in the original proper places, Hamlet is still, to all appearances, asleep; but as soon as they are replaced, the unfortunate adventurer is made prisoner; whereon Saxo avails himself, as usual, of the opportunity, and praises the wisdom of his hero, who at once visits the famous virago—*regina penates accedit.*

Him the queen receives graciously, explaining the folly of being bound in such a link as that of matrimony to a female who has no high blood; beauty, perhaps, she may have, but blood is what a hero ought to look to. She precludes denial, "Hortatur itaque, ut placendi studium in se transferat, in se votum nuptiale deflectat, genusque formæ præferre discat. Hoc dicens astrictis in eum complexibus ruit."

Still, he has to return to England; and this he does with a retinue fully sufficient for a suite, but not adequate to the duties of an army. They halt

within a certain distance of the wife's and father-in-law's capital. Now the wife (the real and original wife) is tender-minded, and condones, as far as may be, her husband's second marriage. She has, or is about to have, a child. But the danger to Hamlet is from her father.

Hamlet, who was sent as a proxy, had won, not only a second wife, but won her under the guise of a principal. Let the son-in-law be on his guard against the father-in-law. Hamlet is not the man to need advice on such a point as this; so, when his first wife's father asks him to a feast, he puts a coat of armour under his clothes. He is, of course, stabbed at; indeed, slightly wounded.

Hostility is thus declared; when Hamlet, who has the scout who stole and replaced the shield and the letters in his power, sends him back to the Queen (her name, as might have been stated before, is Hermentruda), who must now defend herself as best she may. But the Scotch guards are evidently too weak for the occasion. So Hamlet makes the dead help the living. There had been a preliminary skirmish, in which Hamlet lost what men went with him when he parted with his second wife to parley with the first. Of these he collects the corpses; and, partly by sticking them to stones, partly by propping them up with stakes, and partly by fixing them on horses, makes thereby a show of living men. By this the battle is won, or rather the English are made afraid of fighting one. After this Hamlet returns in triumph to Denmark, where his history becomes mixed with that of Vikletus. The question as to the real nature of Horvendil's authority in Jutland can scarcely

be dealt with seriously. This only is certain, that to the authority of Röric Vikletus succeeds; that he ejects his sister Grytha, Hamlet's mother, and (as we may call her) the vice-regent of Jutland, from her government, and that harshly, charging Hamlet with having encroached upon the rights of the true king, the king of Leire. And this he does with impunity, for Hamlet (even in the fourth book an adept in dissimulation) returns good for evil, and sends to Vikletus rich gifts, the fruits of more than one victory. But he is only biding his time; for, as soon as Vikletus becomes involved with enemies in other quarters, Hamlet attacks and defeats him,—not, however, finally. By means of alliances in Scone and Sealand, Vikletus raises an army so strong as to make Hamlet's case desperate. And, in truth, the hero himself well nigh despairs. He knows that if he fight he must die, and communes much within himself whether he should die or yield. Much, too, as he thinks of himself, he thinks more of his wife. But she urges him to resistance: she will join him in the battle, and fight and die with her dear husband. Hamlet, kind, thoughtful, and practical, thinks how, before his death, he can find a second husband for her; and with these and other tender thoughts in his head, he fights a battle against Viklet, in which he is killed. His widow can now choose for herself, and her choice is Viklet, the slayer of her husband, —"ultro in victoris prædam amplexumque successit." After this Viklet reigned long and quietly.

When Vikletus dies, Vermundus, his son, succeeds him; Vermundus being stricken in years before he himself becomes a father. At length, however, a

son is born to him, and he is named Uffo. Now Uffo, though strong in body, was slow and dull in spirit, so much so as to be thought unfit for either royal or princely duties. He never laughed; rarely spoke; took pleasure in nothing. Such was Uffo in his youth. His father, however, marries him to the daughter of Frovinus (Freawine), governor (*præfectus*) of Sleswick, whose two sons are named Keto and Vigo.

There are two great wars during the reign of Vermund. In the first, against Athislas, king of Sweden. Frovinus is killed; his death, however, is revenged upon Athislas by his son Keto, supported by Vermund. The second was against the king of Saxony, who, when Vermund had become very old and nearly blind, suggested that, as the father was superannuated, and the son, Uffo, little better than an idiot, he (the king of Saxony) should be entrusted with the management of the kingdom of Denmark. If this request were denied he would lead an army against the old king and his son, or he would challenge either to single combat. We may guess what will happen. Uffo, under the stress of circumstances and the stimulus of danger, will not only speak, but speak and act to some purpose. He takes up the king of Saxony's challenge, and kills him in a *holmgang*, on an island in the Eyder, near a spot where the town of Rendsburg now stands. After Uffo's return and triumph, and when gaxony is added to the Danish dominions, Vermundus dies, and Uffo succeeds him. How little he did as king, and how he was also called Olaus Mansuetus, we have already seen.

We have also already seen that the triple sequence of Wiglaf, Wærmund, and Offa occurs not only in Beowulf, but in the Anglo-Saxon genealogies. We shall now find the double sequence of Wærmund and Offa elsewhere. The lives of two kings, each a king of Mercia, each connected with the abbey of St. Alban's, and each named Offa, may be found in the Appendix to Watts's edition of Mathew Paris, the heading of the two texts (so suspiciously alike are the biographies) being "Vita Regis Offæ I., cui simillima est Vita Offæ II."

Offa I. is the son of Vermund, the king of the West Angles, and the founder of Warwick, Caer Warmund, or Curia Warmundi. Rigan, who is also called Aliel, one of his nobles, aims at the succession, suggesting that Offa is little better than an idiot, as was actually the case. Rigan now threatens war, having vainly tried to get Vermund to adopt him. Offa's affliction, unlike Hamlet's, was real and physical, for he was a born blind child up to his seventh, and a born mute up to his thirteenth year. Under the stress of the danger that terrified his father, he both speaks rationally and acts effectively. Thus encouraged, Vermund collects his soldiers, crosses the Avon, conquers his enemies, and names that part of the river which runs by Rug*by* (a Danish name) *Rigan*burn, or *Rigan's* Brook. He then resigns, and dies at Gloucester.

Offa I., his son and successor, was one day hunting in a forest, and having met a lady of wonderful beauty, discovers that she is the daughter of the king of York. Her he makes his wife and queen. Soon after this, the king of Northumberland, attacked by

the king of Scotland, but assisted by Offa, fights and wins a great battle. Then Offa's messenger, at or on his way to York, being either drunk or drugged, is robbed of his letters, for which (a thrice-told tale) others are substituted, to the effect that Offa's wife is to be exposed in a forest with her hands and feet cut off,—she and her children. These last are cruelly slaughtered, but the mother is spared on account of her beauty. A hermit, however, brings them back to life, and orders Offa to build a cenobium at St. Alban's. This is neglected till the time of

OFFA II.,

a saint rather than a hero. His parents present him in the church, and promise that, when able, he shall make good the neglect of his predecessor. He was a cripple rather than a mute. His wife's name was, at first, Petronilla, afterwards *Dryda*, or Quæn*drida* (*Drida* the Queen). She had been guilty of some great crime on the Continent, and was drifted to the coast of England in a boat without rigging as a punishment. She called herself a kinswoman of Charles, the king of the Franks. A wicked and deceitful woman, she contrives the murder of Albert, whom Offa meant for his son-in-law, by making a couch over a trap-door, under which was a pit. Tempted to recline on the couch, he is let down and smothered. The queen, who for her punishment is confined in a solitary retreat, is at last killed by robbers, and thrown into a pit, even as she had, herself, the sainted Albert.

The following are the texts which give us the three varieties of the physical and mental ailments of the three Offas:—

Hic Uffo coævos quosque corporis habitu supergressus, adeo hebetis ineptique animi principio juventæ existimatus est, ut privatis de publicis rebus inutilis videretur. Siquidem ab ineunte ætate numquam lusus aut joci consuetudinem præbuit, adeoque humanæ delectationis vacuus fuit, ut labrorum continentiam jugi silenti premeret, severitatem oris a ridendi prorsus officio temperaret Uffo, qui forte cum cœteris aderat, responsionis a patre licentiam flagitabat, subitoque velut ex muto vocalis evasit.

Saxo; Historia Danica, lib. iv.

Offa I. (*Vita Regis Offæ I.*)

Licet enim idem unicus filius ejus Offa, vel Offanus, nomine, statura fuisset procerus, corpore integer, et elegantissimæ formæ juvenis existeret, permansit tamen a nativitate visu privatus usque ad annum septimum. Mutus autem et verba humana non proferens, usque ad annum ætatis suæ tricesimum.

Offa II. (*Vita Regis II.*)

Natus est igitur memorati Tuinfrido (qui de stemmate Regum fuit) filius videlicit Pineredus, usque ad annos adolescentiæ, inutilis poplitibis contractis, et qui nec oculorum vel aurium plene officio naturali fungeretur. Unde patri suo Tuinfrido et matri suæ Marcellinæ, oneri fuit non honori, confusioni et non exultationi. Et licet filius unicus eis fuisset, mallent prole caruisse, quam talem habuisse.

The following, referring to the Uffo of Saxo, now Uffo the Strong, invests him with the character of his manhood:—

Uffo Starke a septimo ætatis anno usque ad trigesimum noluit loqui, quousque in loco, qui adhuc *Kunengicamp* dicitur, super Eydoram, cum filio regis Teutonicorum et meliore pugili totius Teutoniæ solus certans ambos occidit,

et sic conditione utriusque gentis Teutonia Danis jam quarto tributaria facta est.[13]—*Chronicon Erici Regis.*

The extract which indicates his gluttony and love of the kitchen has been already given (p. 40).

Olaf Kyrre.

Olaf *Kyrre* is a cotemporary of William the Conqueror; his historian, Snorro Sturleson, of Henry II. Nevertheless, near as the two dates are to one another, the Saga is anything but historical. A portion of it has certainly a thoroughly historical look; indeed, it savours of even what is called the Philosophy of History. The king is praised as the upholder, if not the founder, of what we should now call a Peace Policy. He let well alone, taking

[13] Though not named, Vermund is the "Blind King" in Uhland's ballad so named, and Uffo his son. The name of the sword was *Skrep.*

(3.)

Noch stehn die Fechter alle stumm;
  Tritt keiner aus sein Reihn.
Der blinde König kehrt sich um;
  "Bin ich denn ganz allein?
Da sasst des Vaters Rechte
  Sein junger Sohn so warm:
"Vergönn' mir's, das ich fechte!
  Wohl fühle ich Kraft im Arm."

(4.)

"O Sohn, der Feind is Riesenstark,
  Ihm hielt noch Keiner Stand;
Und, doch, in dir ist edles Mark,
  Ich fühl's am Druck der Hand.
Nimm, hier, *die alte* Klinge;*
  Sie ist der Skalden Preiss;
Und, fällst Du, so verschlinge
  Die Fluth mich armen Greiss."

* The name of this sword was *Screp.*

matters easily. He "was called by some Olaf Kyrre, but by many Olaf the Bonder" (yeoman), "because he sat in peace, without strife, within or without the country, and gave no reasonable cause for others to plunder his dominions."[13] Several of the Norwegian towns made, in his reign, a start in what we now call Municipal Institutions. It is scarcely a refinement to suggest that this looks like the opinion of men who looked back upon a time when a system of law and commerce began to develope itself at the expense of an age of insecure heroism, without considering very nicely how much was due to age and how much to the ruler. If there is something indefinite about this, there is nothing either vague or hazy in the delineation of his character as an individual. He was a thorough Norseman, with a fair skin and flaxen hair. He was very silent, except when in his cups, and then he was talkative: and he was talkative very often.

Such, then, is the general view of him as a politician; such the personal description of him, mind and body, as an individual. In his Saga, however, all this is dispatched in little more than a page. The remainder has a very tralaticious look. He builds a church at Nidaros (Drontheim), and places the altar over the very spot where his predecessor, St. Olave, was buried. Here miracles take place, and a blind man sees, and a dumb man sings.

Then he has a conversation with a peasant, who professes to understand the language of birds. The king doubts, but the peasant convinces him.

Then he is a reformer in the domestic economy of

[13] Laing, translator of the Heimskringla, Saga ix.

drinking. Before his time the fire seems to have been in the middle of the room, with a bench on each side of it. The king sat in the middle of one of them, and when he had taken his turn at the drinking-horn, had to pass it across the fire to the guest opposite Olaf arranged the benches so that they ran round, rather than across, the fire.

Surely we have read of something like all this before,—of that mixture of wisdom and folly which the habit of never speaking except when at the wine-cup so naturally suggests; of that unregal acquaintance with the affairs of the kitchen; and, above all, of the speaking of the dumb man.

Indeed, this carries us farther to a comparison between Olaf as a restorator of the shrine at Drontheim, and Offa in the same, or a similar, at St. Albans. The understanding of the language of birds is too common an element in fiction to claim much attention. It occurs, however, with something more than ordinary prominence in both "Oswald" and "Erendil" romances of the Hamlet Cycle.

This, however, only brings him within the wide and indefinite domain of fiction. What can we find that brings in special contact with England? What insight do we get as to the introduction of the word Cwiran, or Cuaran into the British Islands? Olaf Kyrre never set foot upon any of them. It is possible, however, that there was never a time when the name, or even the nickname, of a king in Norway was more likely to be formidable in England than it was in the time of Olaf Kyrre. In his Saga there are three quotations, after Snorro's practice, of Scaldic poems. They are the last we have. The

names of the particular Skalds are given:—Stuf and Stein; the son of Hurdiss—Hurdisarson. They must have been cotemporaries. In two of them is decribed as the king who, without fighting, *frightened* England. And of the terror thus suggested, we have, within England itself, ample evidence. Olaf was the son of the Harald Hardrada who was defeated by Harald Godvinsson, as he is called, at Stamford Bridge, just before the Battle of Hastings. To ensure against the attempts on the part of his son, Olaf Kyrre, one-third of Yorkshire was laid waste. This is the English account. On the side of Scandinavia, we have, in Olaf's Saga, a dialogue between him and Canute of Denmark. Canute proposes an invasion of England, giving Olaf the choice of supplying sixty ships, and letting him (Canute) command, or *vice versâ*. In the Dialogue Olaf gives his reasons for declining the command and for supplying the ships instead. He remarks, truly enough, that the Canute family have been lucky in England, the Olaf family the contrary. Surely, then, there was something to make the name of Olaf Kyrre familiar in the parts north of the Humber.

The devastation of Yorkshire is a measure of this for England; the whole tone of Olaf Kyrre's Saga for Scandinavia. Even the dates have an English foundation. When the cotemporary kings of Denmark are mentioned, the first of them is mentioned as having died ten years after the death of the two Haralds, *i. e.* Harald Hardrade of Norway, and Harold, the son of Godwin of England, but the names in full are not given; they are simply the Two Haralds. The reader supplied the rest. There is also a curious

piece of Greek learning. The drinking that Olaf, the Kitchen King, altered is called a *Trapeza* (τράπεζα). This is meant to anticipate an objection. Snorro is writing (there or thereabouts) a hundred years, and no more, after the real rule of a real king of Norway; yet this is how he writes. If the confusion, here assumed, between a Hamlet who was originally Chochilaicus and Hamlet who was originally Olaus, actually took place, it is too near the historical period to be probable. The word *Kyrre* is to find its way from Olaf, of Norway, to Olaf, or Anlaf, of England or Ireland; to be extended from him to Havelok, and to give us all the results here submitted to the reader. The time is too short, or if not too short too late, *i. e.* too near the time of genuine history for such confusion to take root. It looks like this at the first view, especially if we mean that Havelok had never been named Cuaran until Anlaf had been so named before him, and that Anlaf had never been so called until after the time of Olaf Kyrre; in fact, that the Anlaf Cwiran of the year A.D. 950, of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, was not so called until after the end of the tenth century. Yet this is what the present writer means. The date, however, of an event is one thing, the date of an entry (as already stated) another.

It is only in two out of seven manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that this adjunct is found; the two which have been already quoted. In the others, though the event is entered there is no such name as Cwiran; and that the two which contain it are subsequent to the death of Olaf Kyrre is collected from the opinion of Mr. Thorpe. Both copies are in

the hand of the *twelfth* century; and, except that in the Bodleian MS., the hand and ink vary a little, A.D. 1122, the writing is uniform.

There is no evidence, then, of the name *Curran* or *Cuaran* being necessarily earlier than the time of Olaf Kyrre. It may, however, have been so, inasmuch as there may have been two persons who bore it. It is also possible that the words may be different.

Now this is a question which, for the full exhibition of the present doctrine, it is necessary to investigate, and it is not pretended that it can be settled conclusively. It is moreover admitted, or rather proclaimed, that the general opinion is at least against Anlaf *Cwiran* having taken his second name from Olaf *Kyrre*. How far the two words are the same, or different, is another question. It is only, however, for the establishment of certain corollaries from the present train of argument that the identification is required. The main fabric can stand either with or without it. The confusion between Havelok Curran and Anlaf Cwiran is simply a matter of fact which stands upon its own merits. By the deduction of the name from Olaf Kyrre we can explain it. Without him it is unexplained; it may or may not be inexplicable. However, whether explained, unexplained, or inexplicable, it is equally a matter of fact.

The bearing of this is upon the fixation of one of the two names of Saxo's Uffo; for we have seen that Uffo is said by Saxo to have been also called Olaus *Mansuetus*. Uffo then is in Norse *Olaf*, just like Olaf *Kyrre*, and *Anlaf (i. e. Olaf) Cwiran*. What is he in Norse as *Mansuetus?* That depends on the translators of the word. It is the same of *Kyrre?*—

That depends on the translator also; for there is more than one word by which the Latin *Mansuetus* can be rendered into Norse, and more than one word by which the Norse *Kyrre* can be rendered into Latin; while it so happens that it is a Latin writer, Saxo, from whom we first get *Mansuetus*, and a Norse one, Saxo, from whom we first get *Kyrre*. How each of these writers would have translated his own term no one knows. We only know that Saxo derives the epithet from the mildness of his hero's natural temper, and Snorro from his peaceful policy. It is needless, after this, to say that *Kyrre* and *Mansuetus*, if not the natural, patent, and unequivocal translations of one another, are allied in their signification. They are represented, however, by different words; the Danish for Olaus *Mansuetus* is Olaf *Litillate*, the Latin for Olaf *Kyrre* is Olaus *Tranquillus*. It cannot be denied that, as far as the difference goes, it implies a difference between the two Olafs. As for Anlaf Cwiran, he is nowhere, since it is only in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in the Irish Annals, and in the French Romance that his second name appears; in other words, *Cwiran* or *Cuaran* is no Norse term at all, and this has been one of the reasons for bringing in Olaf Kyrre. It is with him, and him only, that Uffo as a Scandinavian is to be compared. Offa, indeed, may be compared with Anlaf Cwiran, and though this increases the confusion it strengthens the argument; for the primary assumption is that from first to last there is confusion, and nothing but confusion.

The difference, then, between Olaus *Mansuetus* Olaus *Tranquillus*, or Olaf *Litillate* and Olaf *Kyrre* is unimportant. The real, undoubted, and historical

Olaf is one—Olaf *Kyrre*. Yet the distinction could scarcely fail to develop itself. In the first place, the translation was a *cross* one, *Mansuetus* had to be translated into Norse, *Kyrre* into Latin, and that by different and independent translators. Nothing, then, is more natural than the two approximate synonyms, Tranquillus and Mansuetus: and the doctrine that they applied to two different individuals is equally so; at least, it would be so in the eyes of Scandinavian logographers in the twelfth century. They worked apart from each other, and had few authorities to help them. Saxo, for instance, in the very case before us, is writing a history of the most Southern, Snorro one of the most Northern, Kingdoms of Scandinavia, Their materials, however, are to a great extent common to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Meanwhile, it is from Denmark that Saxo and from Iceland that Snorro is writing. It is not, then, too much to say that, when, under such circumstances two different names occur, the inference that there were two different bearers of them presents itself as a matter of course. When our data are sufficient, or, in other words, we are engaged on a true historical period, this error can, of course, be corrected; or, rather, it corrects itself. If it were not so we should have as many Charleses of Burgundy and Louises of France and Germany as there are real or apparent synonyms for the words Temeraire and Debonnair. Olaus Mansuetus, then, as a King of Denmark, exists only so far as he is an *alias* of Uffo, and Uffo, in the united character of Dane and King, is merely Olaus Mansuetus under an *alias*. There are real Uffos, and there is one real Olaf the Mild, Tranquil, Peaceful or the like: but

they are not the Uffo or Olaus Mansuetus of Saxo. It is, however, on the definite authority of Saxo that the two are identified. To this the attention of the reader is again directed. The connexion between Olaf the Mansuete, Olaf the Tranquil, Olaf Kyrre, and Anlaf Cwiran is inferential; and it is the present writer who suggests it. The identification of Olaus Mansuetus and Uffo is a matter of evidence --good or bad as the case may be—but still evidence as opposed to inference, and authority as opposed to speculation, On what *data* the statement of Saxo rests I am not prepared to say. I only insist upon the fact of its being Saxo's; and, as such, I take it as I find it. It leads me, as we have seen, to the Anlaf Cwiran of the Anglo-saxon Chronicle, and the Amblaibh Cuaran of Ireland; and here for the present I leave it; with a repetition of the remark that contact with Anlaf Cwiran is much the same as contact with Havelok the Dane.

The Amlethus of Saxo, we must remember, is, by the present doctrine, not one individual but two, one of whom is the Amlethus of the Third, the other the Amlethus of the Fourth, Book. Now great prominence has been given to the fact that, while the Amlethus of the Third Book is a pretending madman, there is, to say the least, mental malady of some sort in no less than three Offas. The character of this differs with the individual; but, in all, it is only temporary; Amlethus, Uffo, and both the Offas, like snakes that cast their skins, all come out, at their proper time, as strong and wise men. Now, just as the *alias* Olaus Mansuetus brings the Uffo of Saxo into contact with Havelok, so does this com-

mon trait of mental derangement, more or less unreal, bring the same Uffo (the Uffo who is Olaus) into contact with the Hamlet of the Third Book, or the Hamlet of Shakespear.

The approximation, then, of Uffo—Olaus Mansuetus, to Amlethus, as name and name, coincides with the approximation of Uffo to Amlethus, as man and man; and in this coincidence lies the great importance of every relation to Uffo. So far as he is Olaus Mansuetus he has brought us into contact with Anlaf Cwiran, and, so far as he is the Amlethus of the Third Book, he has carried the Hamlet of Shakespear along with him.

The Amlethus of Saxo (we must reiterate our formula) is not one individual, but two; one of whom, the Amlethus of the Third Book and of Shakespear, we have compared with Offa, who is Olaus Mansuetus. In the Amlethus of the Fourth Book; it is submitted that we have Hugletus (*melius* Huglekus), Higelac, and Chochilaicus. The history of Chochilaicus, so long as it keeps free from that of Offa, etc., is comparatively simple. The agreement, name for name, and man for man, between Chochilacius and Higelac, has long been recognized; and it is to the historical Chochilaicus that the legend of the bones of Hiuglauc has always been referred, The Swedish Huhleikr of Snorro, and the Irish Huglekus of Saxo have never been sepaated from either one another or from Chochilaicus; though the distortion of their respective histories is considerable. Of Hugletus the son of the Dan II., the hero, so to say, of the present treatise, little has hitherto been said either way; for without some such doc-

trine as the one here advanced there is next to nothing to say about him. His name is here changed to Huglekus on purely palæographic grounds; or by a simple piece of commonplace emendatory criticism. It is, then, by hypothesis, put in the place of that of the Amlethus of the Fourth Book, thus implying a confusion between two individuals, rather than a mere change in the form of a word. On the other hand, word for word, Havelok is held to be Higelac; and this brings us exactly to the point where the line which begins with Chochilaicus meets the line which begins with Olaus Mansuetus (Uffo); where, as we have already stated, the same individual is in two places mentioned as Hanelok; in the one of which the word stands for Havelok the Dane, and in the other for Anlaf Cwiran. Out of this come, (as *words*,) those forms like Amblaibh, Amelaus, Amelaivus, and the like, which made such a form as Amlethus possible. It does not come from Olaf and it does not come from Higelac purely and simply; nor does it come from any letter-change between word and word. By a confusion between them, as man and man, the bearers of names as different as Olaf and Higelac, take a form out of which Amlethus is a probable educt.

This confusion between Havelok and Anlaf, etc., like that of Olaf, rests, not upon inference, but evidence; and it is upon this undoubted confusion, or rather upon the complex character of it, that the leading elements of the present criticism mainly rest. We have seen how far, as the pretending mad-

man, the Amlethus of the Third Book agrees with Offa. We have, also, seen how decided are the relations of the Amlethus of the Fourth Book with Viklet, Vermund, and Offa. They are nearly, those of Higelac *minus* the difference of the name. But *Amlethus* is no name at all for any single individual; the name which it is substituted for being *Huglekus*. Upon this substitution the whole question turns; for it will scarcely be denied that when, form for form, Hugletus is changed to Huglekus, and, name for name, Huglekus for Amlethus, the sequence (1) Huglekus, (2) Vikletus, (2) Vermundus, and (4) Uffo, in Saxo, and the association, in Beowulf, of (1) Higelac, (2) Wiglaf, (3) Wærmund, and (4) Offa tell their own story. What, then, becomes of Amlethus? The answer to this is that he is just explained away altogether; improved off the face of the earth; or (to go further into the over-familiar language of the day) made to "disappear into space."

Nor is this strange. On the contrary, his absolute abolition is the one thing needful. As has been so often said, *Amlethus* is no man's name; but the name of a pair of men. *This* dictum is the present writer's; but the dictum that neither, man for man, nor, name for name, is a second Amlethus to be found in the whole range of Scandinavian myth, legend, or literature, is *not* the present writer's. It is the express statement of Saxo's editor Müller; and that not as a mere incidental remark, but as the result of careful search for instances to the contrary. Something, indeed, of the kind he found; but he especially commits himself to the positive assertion that

whatever in Scandinavian is Amlethian is merely a reproduction of the Saxonian Amlethus.

It is now submitted that, when, slightly changing the subject and taking Saxo's list from another point of view, we may, from the series that gives us *Amlethus*, also get *Humblus*, i.e., as a word which the Anglo-Irish metamorphoses of the name *Olaf* may legitimately be supposed to supply; and with this we may consider the relations of Dan as the eponymus of Denmark, and Chochilaicus as the first historical Dane. In Saxo's list Götricus is the thirty-eighth name; and, at the same time, the only one against which no objections as to its genuine historical character can be raised. *Nearly* in the middle of the list come (17) Uffo, (18) Dan II. (19) Hugletus (*mel.* Huglekus); and, then, at the very beginning of it (1) Humble I, (2) Dan, (3) Humble II. Now, Dan is the eponymus of Denmark; and, as such, in all the dynasties has his name at, or near, the top of the list. It is not necessarily *quite* at the top; and this is because, unless he be an autochthon, he must have a parent; a parent who in certain cases, must be put forward conspicuously. When two nations, for instance, profess to derive their origin from two brothers, the name of the common ancestor forces itself upon the logographer, The Danes and English came from Dan and Angle, who were brothers. But who was the father of Dan and Angle? Whoever he was he was a *pro*-eponymus; and, as Dan, *whenever it may occur*, is an eponymic, the name of his father is a *pro*-eponymic, term.

The facts that determine the names of *pro*-eponymi are numerous; and there is no place in the present

treatise for discussing them at large. It is only certain that one of them is the date of the first authentic name in the history of the country under notice. When this is not only sufficiently early, but, likewise, so isolated as to stand without any others in immediate contact, there is every chance of his being made either the father or the son of the eponymus; and, when there are more lists than one, he may appear the father in the first, and the son, in the second; or *vice versâ*; and, more than this, when this conflict, comes under the scrutiny of a fresh logographer he may appear, in the way of a compromise, in both characters; just as we have it here—Humblus I, Dan, Humblus II.

Again, the name of the eponymus may be repeated; and it is submitted that when it shows itself at anything like equal intervals, and in lists containing a mixture of new and old names, the chances are that two lists have been fused into one. If the pro-eponymus re-appears as well, the chances are improved; and still more closely do they approach to certainty when the pro-eponymus is both father and son. Now this, according to the *aliases* that we have just investigated, is the case with

1 Humble I.	and	17 Uffo
2 Dan I.		18 Dan II.
3 Humble II.		19 Hugletus (i.e., Huglekus).

Huglekus, though it has the additional complication of the ambiguity of the word Humblus, which may be an *alias* of either Anlaf Cwiran, or Havelok, or the one in one of its places, and the other in the other, is repeated. Still whatever may be the explanation of the details of the repetition of this triad, the

repetition of the confusion of the names is undoubted.

In Chochilaicus we get a date (A.D. 516), a place, and historical evidence that before, as well as after, the time of Charlemagne there were Danish piracies in districts as near to England as the Netherlands; or, in other words, on the opposite side of the German Ocean. How far this raises a presumption in favour of similar ones in Britain is a point upon which there may be a difference of opinion. If the history of our island, for the sixth century, were so full and authentic as to make the fact of nothing whatever being said about them evidence of their actual non-existence, the presumption would be a very slight one indeed. No such history, however, exists. Our best authority for anything like detail in this very obscure period is Beda, whose history is not less than two centuries later; and the utmost we get from this against such a presumption is his notice of the languages spoken in our island, in which Danish is not mentioned. But it is only a Danish settlement of a certain magnitude and permanence that this excludes. In the first half of the tenth century, we get the name Higelac, and associated with it that of Hengest as an early contemporary. Hence, while the name points to Chocilaicus, the date and connexion suggest England; while, in respect to his own connexions, Higelac is, perhaps, more of a Dane than an Englishman. As far as he is concerned, there is nothing that militates against his historical character; for though Grendel, the water-fiend, and the fire-drake, belong to the story of Beowulf, Higelac is mentioned in the poem only as the friend, kinsman, and lord of that hero.

The middle of the century brings us to the reign of Athelstan, under whom the Danes of the Carlovingian (as opposed to the Merovingian) period are as famous as they are formidable. We have numerous names, but any name like Havelok is conspicuous for its absence. It is plain, however, that if the origin of the legend of *Havelok*, the Danes, and the Lincolnshire belief about the foundation of the town of Grimsby, are to be investigated at all, the date, name, and country of any one name anything like *Higelac* must enter into the inquiry. Unless we can find a Havelok in either the tenth century or the centuries that follow, we must either ignore the question of his historical reality, or look to some earlier period. The name, however, of Havelok has not yet occurred, nor will it for the next two centuries. Nevertheless, the middle of the tenth century is the most important point in the history of the name. Then it was that the Anlaf who is supposed to have taken to himself the personality of Higelac, so far as he was Chochilaicus, on the one side, and of Uffo, so far as he was Olaus Mansuetus, on the other, and out of whose name, in its Irish form, *Amlethus*, as a word, is maintained to be an educt, lived and died; claiming for himself the title of king both in Northumberland and Ireland. Here, however, there are, at least, three complications. In the first place there are more bearers of the name than one; in the second, the real and exact sound and spelling of the name are uncertain; and, thirdly, the date of his life and death is nearly two hundred years earlier than the names for the extraordinary transformations of which it accounts, inasmuch as

the historical notices which first give us the important forms, Havelok, Amblaibh, Amlethus, Cuaran, and Cwiran, are all later than the beginning of the twelfth century.

1. There are *two* Anlafs in the time of Athelstan. One is killed in the Battle of Brunanburg, and this is not the one who becomes Anlaf Cwiran. The one who becomes Anlaf Cwiran was the son of Sidroc, or Sydaracus. Of the ordinary English histories the fullest account of him is in Lappenberg; of original sources, the fullest is the Irish History, published under the Master of the Rolls, and edited by Mr. Stewart, entitled 'The Wars of the Gael and Saxon.' Here his name is spelt *Amlaf*.

2. *Anlaf* and Anelaf are the forms of the name in the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle'; and the current opinion as to the nature of sounds of A and N by which it is distinguished from *Olaf* is that the one form is Anglo-Saxon, the other Danish. Practically, this is the case. There is no evidence, however, that, at the time of the Anlafs, the name Olaf had a concurrent existence; since, the Scandinavian notices are one and all more than a century and a half later than that of the fuller and stronger form in N. Hence, it is probable that the two forms differed from another as older and newer, rather than as English and Norse. If so, the Anlafs, Norsemen as they were, may have called themselves what they were called by the English.

3. The difference between the date of Anlaf as a king in the British Isles, and the date of the confusion of names is necessary to be attended to, lest we attribute the transformation to a condition rather

than to its direct and efficient cause. The direct and efficient cause was the uncritical and imperfect knowledge of the writers of the twelfth century; and the existence of the Anlafs of Ireland and Northumberland was merely the condition which made such errors possible. The same applies to Olaf *Kyrre*. It was through him that the form *Cuaran* took birth. It was the inaccuracy of the age that transferred it to some one else; and, then, not satisfied with doing this, made two different kings out of the two quasi-synonymous translations of it. Olaf Kyrre is the contemporary of William the Conqueror; Anlaf, of Athelstan and his two successors. During the interval, no such name as Amblaibh, Olaf, or Havelok occurs. They all belong to the twelfth century, and all crop out within a few years of both one another and other names indicative of similar confusion. They are all connected with the same system. Nevertheless, the deduction of Cuaran from Olaf Kyrre is not absolutely necessary to the argument; it only *accounts* for the confusion. But, whether accounted for or not, the confusion still exists.

A similar remark applies to another metamorphosis; viz.—that of the "Ha*n*eloke that wedded Goldesburge," and the Ha*n*elocke[14] who was cotemporary with Conelocke. Here Havelok the Dane is held to pass into Anlaf Cwiran. By assuming, however, a little more confusion, the process may be reversed; in which it is *out of* Anlaf Cwiran that Havelok the Dane is evolved. In either case, however, the con-

[14] See pp. 33, 34. See also, for the extent to which Havelok the Dane has, actually, been identified with Anlaf Cwiran, Sir Frederick Madden's Introduction to his edition of the Romances of that name.

fusion remains; and for the purpose of the present work, which is mainly an investigation of the rules by which Saxo Grammaticus should be read, it matters little which view we take. In a question as to Lincolnshire legends, and the relation of Havelok to the town of Grimsby, the difference is, undoubtedly, important. But this is not the question now under notice.

Within . . . . years after the death of Olaf Kyrre comes his biography, and here, for the first time, the word *Olaf* in the place of *Anlaf*, and the word *Kyrre* for the first time presents itself; but the full fountain of error and confusion is opened with its great gush of complex blunders; blunders which give us (1) Snorro's Huhleikr, with a history incompatible with either history or uniform fiction; (2) Saxo's Irish Hugletus, also in disguise; (3) the attachment of the legend of Rolf the Walker to the bones of Hiuglauc; and, above all (4) Havelok the Dane, whether as Havelok pure and simple, or as Havelok Cuaran, with a history which, whatever it may be, is neither that of Higelac or Chochilaicus, nor yet that of Anlaf.

Nor is this all. I have hitherto spoken of the two Amlethi of the two different Books of Saxo, as *wholly* distinct; and, practically, or in rough way, they are so. At any rate it is only the first of the two that is Shakespear's 'Hamlet;' and it is only he who agrees with the *three* Offas in a temporary show of insanity. This, perhaps, is a sufficient characteristic. But, then, it is only to Uffo and the two Offas, as Crown Princes or young men, that the insanity or imbecility applies. All three, when grown

up, are strong, and wise, and heroic. Hence, then, the Offas are divided into two; and it is only with one of them that Shakespear's 'Hamlet' coincides. But in the Amlethus of the Fourth Book (the Amlethus that is Higelac, etc.), there is an *Offa* element; for Higelac has apparently conjugal relations with a lady whom Thorpe treats as his wife, while Kemble says she belongs to Offa. But then this is not Offa the Crown Prince, not the Offa whom we make out to be Shakespear's 'Hamlet'; so that, though there is an Offa element in both the Amlethi, it is not an intermixture of the *same* Offa. The formula, then, is this. There are two Offas and two Hamlets; and one Offa coincides to a preponderating extent with the Amlethus, and the other with the other. The Hamlet of the Third Book has no wife; one of the Offas has a good wife, the other has a bad one. Havelok the Dane, also, has a good wife. Meanwhile, the Hamlet of the Fourth Book has two wives, one good, and one bad; and the name of the bad one is Hermen*truda*, while the bad one of the second Offa is named *Drida*, or Cwæn-*drida*. And here I leave the maze; chiefly because I think that enough has been said for the purpose of the argument; partly from the trifling character of the manipulation of the changes that this mixture of method and confusion bring about; and, partly, from sheer fatigue.

All this confusion, however, we get within eighty years of Olaf Kyrre's death; though it is the name "*Olaf Kyrre*" which has been put prominently forward as its main condition. It is a manifest objection that the interval is too short for its development. Be it so.

There is, however, an error of the same kind as one of the details of one of the very compositions under notice where the progress of error is quicker still. The name of the Danish King of whom the pure and simple *Havelok* of the English, (with the *Havelok Cuaran* of French Romance), is the son, is *Birkabeyn*. The Danish king, of whom Havelok Cuaran is the son, is *Birkbeyn*. Now, even if Havelok (Cuaran) be confounded with Anlaf (Quiran), this name of Birkbeyn is a very late one. The date for Anlaf, of the Anglo-Saxon Saxon Chronicle, is A.D. 9 . . , so that he could scarcely be the son of a father whose name appears, for the first time, A.D. 1173, for such is the case with *Birkbeyn*. And, even then, it is not the proper name of an individual. It was the nickname for a political faction, half military, and half predatory, that supporting the pretensions to a man called Eystein, who gave himself out as the son King Eystein Haraldsson, having been defeated in the open field, took refuge in the forests, and when their clothes were worn out wound the bark of the birch-tree round their legs, and were thus called *Birkebeins*, or Birkbeiners, Birch-bones, or Birch-legs. Their opponents were the Baglers; and the time of the Baglers and the Birkbeyns was the time of Snorro Sturleson; so that it is under the full light of history that this name first presents itself. Of course there may have been Birkebeiners before; but, unless we assume their existence, the date of the French Havelok is the last quarter of the twelfth century at the earliest.

Hitherto the criticism has been so variable in its direction that it is difficult to say to what part of the

general subject it has most especially applied. Probably the largest amount of it bears upon the character of the early logography of Denmark. The poem, however, of Beowulf, along with the English and French versions of the Romance of Havelok, the Dane, has also an ample share of it. So has that part of the Heimskringla which bears upon the history of Olaf Kyrre. It is likely, however, that, notwithstanding all this, the Hamlet of Shakespear is the only point which many of my readers have cared about; and I may add, that before the subject is done with it will be the Hamlet of Shakespear which, first and last, shall have commanded the most attention on the part of the writer. To this the future discussions, which will henceforth run in a narrower and more direct channel, are now about to be exclusively directed. It cannot be said that much of what has hitherto been written comes clearly and definitely under the head of Shakespearian criticism: however much the names of Shakespear and Hamlet may be associated, and, however much it may be the case that it is mainly as a creation of Shakespear that Hamlet interests the nation at large. That the simple question of his existence or his non-existence as a personal and historical individual is one which has an interest of some kind or other, is what most of us are ready to admit. The discussion of it, however, with most of us passes for one of the curiosities in the byeways of literature rather than one for which there is any special call. It will be seen, however, in the sequel, that such a view as this does scant justice to the value of these investigations; for it is not in their bearings upon the text of Shakes-

pear that their merits or demerits exclusively or even especially consist. "What," let us now ask, "can we claim in the way of personality of Hamlet; and what comes of such personality as we can get?" Very little indeed. In the first place the personality is no true personality at all: inasmuch as there are two Hamlets, and Shakespear's is *not* the real one. Shakespear's Hamlet, as far as he is any one at all, is Offa; but the personality of Offa himself, so far as he is Hamlet, is of a very equivocal character. His is made up of the odds and ends of tralaticious absurdities, of general, rather than particular appropriation; so that the bearer of it is a lay-figure rather than a real man in the flesh. Out of this and the like come *bi*-personalities, and *semi*-personalities which, after all, end in mere *quasi-personalities;* and a *quasi*-personality is all that be claimed for Shakespear's Hamlet, or the Amlethus of the Third Book. The Amlethus of the Fourth Book, the Hamlet who is Chochilaicus, can do more. He may pronounce himself the representative of a genuine hero. It is possible, however, that, by the mere force of genius, the equivocal Hamlet who is identified with Shakespear has in the hearts and the imaginations of men the most reality. Guarding, however, against sentiment and tall talk, let us ask what comes of the Shakespearian Hamlet as the writer leaves and as the reader finds him?

Thus much does the present dissertation suggest to us. 1. The hopelessness of expecting to find within the four corners of the English translation of Bellay's French translation of Saxo's Latin narrative, either the whole or the half of the antecedents of the

Shakespearian drama; and (2) a caution against over-refining upon the nature of Hamlet's madness. The more we isolate the narrative of Saxo, and limit our notions of his hero by the single account of him in the Historia Danica, the more freedom and latitude we allow both ourselves and the dramatist in the estimate of his character. The more, however, we recognize additional sources for his history, and the more we find that the evidence of these is uniform as to the nature of his mental ailment, the more we are constrained to treat him as a Dramatis Persona whose character has come to us, to a certain extent, ready-made; and, as such, one which is not to be either tampered with or refined upon gratuitously. Common sense tells us this, and the old Horatian rule reminds us of it. We are not to make Medea mild; nor Ino cheerful; nor Ixion an honest man; nor Io domestic; nor Orestes jovial: neither must Achilles be gentle and forgiving; but, on the contrary, passionate, vindictive, and inexorable — the moral of which is that we must think twice before, in the way of either will or intellect, we invest the weakness of Hamlet with actual or even approximate reality. The pretendedness of Hamlet's malady is as genuine as the reality of that of Orestes; and, for reasons upon which I will enlarge hereafter, I am inclined to think that long before it came under the cognizance of Shakespear his *dramatic* character was as strongly stamped and stereotyped as that of any one of the heroes or heroines in the Horatian list. This is how it came to Shakespear. Whether he took it as it came, or refined upon it, is another question; and upon this anything which relates to the form

taken by the story of the præ-Shakesperian Hamlet has a patent and definite bearing.

With this view I shall lay before the reader the result of my investigations upon what we may conveniently call the "*German* Hamlet;" though, as we shall soon see, the actual title of the play is somewhat different.

A connection, of more than ordinary closeness, between the German and English theatres, towards the end of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, has long been recognized. The interest, however, which was created by the earlier notices of it, slackened; until, in the first quarter of the present century it was revived. With Gotsched, the most influential of the earlier critics, and his cotemporaries, it was rather a question of Shakespear's influence in Germany, than that of Germany upon England. Tieck, in 1817, reversed this view, and showed how one play, at least, illustrated Shakespear. This was the "Fair Sidea," or, "Die schöne Sidea," a play which had a common element with the Tempest.

In like manner "Much Ado About Nothing" and The "Two Gentlemen of Verona" are partially illustrated by the "*Schöne Phenicia*" and "*Julio and Hippolito*" respectively.

This gives us three plays; to which we may add, as a fourth, "*Romios and Jiuletta*"—"Romeo and Juliet," of which the exact relations to England, on one side, and to Germany, on the other, require examination.

The fifth and sixth, by which Cohn's collection is completed, are the "Fratricide's Tragedy," or, "*Der bestrafte Brudermord*," and "Titus Andronicus," and

the play under notice. These derive their comparatively high importance from the extent to which, while they agree in their general character with one another, they combine, as compared with the English drama, difference with likeness, and likeness with difference, in a manner so remarkable as to make their exact relations obscure. They are neither wholly independent dramas, like the first three, nor mere reproductions, like "*Romios and Jiuletta.*" Indeed what they actually are in respect to their origin remains, at least in the opinion of the present writer, to be considered.

The whole six plays are now very accessible, for they may be found not only in the German, but in an English translation, in Cohn's "Shakespear in Germany," of which the preface, or introduction, is as well worthy of a careful study as the texts which it illustrates; the information it supplies being referable to both the writers and the actors of the German stage.

Of the former, Jacob Ayrer is, upon the whole, the most important. He followed upon the model of Hans Sachs, and like him, addressed the populace at large. In common with the dramatists of the century, he was, as compared with his general influence, a man of whom we know, personally, but little. He died A.D. 1605; in 1593 he received the freedom of the city of Nuremberg, where he became proctor and notary to the Town Court. Between these two dates lie those of all his numerous compositions, so far as they are known to us. The general collection of his works, like that of Shakespear's, is posthumous; the *Opus Theatricum* being published in

1618. This contains thirty tragedies and thirty-six Shrovetide plays, with a promise of forty more. Towards this number of a hundred and six in full, only three additions have since been made. The search, however, has led to the opinion that out of the sixty-six plays of the *Opus Theatricum* no less than twenty-two were composed between '95 and '98. Two *Song-plays* (*Singenspiele*—operas) were composed in two days—a day for each.

How far the German Theatre advanced under Ayrer is not very plain. It is only safe to say that he was not an innovator; that he agreed with his predecessors more than his successors; that he carried forward and promulgated what Hans Sachs has bequeathed to him; though, as we expect beforehand, with a difference of degree.

Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick, was *both* patron and dramatist. His life was nearly parallel with that of Shakespear. He was born a year before the English poet—*i.e.*, in 1563; and, in 1613, he died two years before him. Ten pieces have come down to us; not exactly bearing his name, but the enigmatic anagram of HIBELDEHA, meaning *H*enricus *J*ulius *B*runsvicensis, *E*t *L*uneburgensis *D*ux, *E*piscopatus *H*alberstadensis *A*ntistes. The dates of the *publication* of all these dramas lie within the years 1593 and 1594. At what previous date they were *composed* has yet to be ascertained.

As a patron, the Duke of Brunswick by no means stood alone. Maurice, the Landgrave of Hesse, was a patron also; and, though not a critic, a musician.

The main part, however, of Cohn's introduction relates to the actors rather than the composers, and

of these the history is, to a great extent, English. Whatever may be the difficulties in accounting for it (and more than one conjecture has been hazarded on the question), the fact that there was at this time more than one company of English actors in Germany, and that these carried with them the representation of English plays, is undoubted. How they managed with the language we cannot well see. How far they undertook German plays by writers exclusively German, or how far they limited themselves to the compositions with which they had become familiar in England, we do not know. We only know that they were numerous and influential, and that they carried with them English plays—more, probably, in manuscript, than as printed and published texts. We know, moreover, that some of them, at least, returned from Germany to England early enough to make a name on the London boards, at the time when the best plays of Shakespear were exhibited; and two of these we know by name. Let us also remember that though contemporaries of Shakespear, they are what we may call his *older* contemporaries. They need not have been younger men. They need only have engaged in their profession earlier.

The bearing of this diffusion of *actors* over a country like Germany, of the return to England on the part of many of them, and of the action and reaction thus established between the theatres of the two countries, is by no means one of an ordinary character. When *plays* are imported or translated the influence of the country from which they are introduced is plain and patent. There is, in most cases, a text to appeal to; perhaps one with the date

of the publication and the name of the author; perhaps one with additional pieces of information more or less illustrative of the history of the drama. There is, in short, something like documentary evidence, much or little as the case may be. When, however, an actor returns with his experience the case is widely different. He talks over what he has learnt. He may communicate a piece of professional information to one friend which he conceals from another. He may give the character of a play in which he has taken a part by instalments; or his own *rôle*, with the full amount of detail (perhaps word for word) from first to last; but of the *rôles* of others only a general view. He may speak of an incident or a scene as having been effective on such or such an occasion, without giving the whole of the circumstances which made it so; and such an incident may thus get transplanted or inserted into a drama with which it had originally no connection. Finally, a state of things like that which we have just described would leave posterity much to learn. There might be any amount of borrowing, reproduction, or adaptation, the evidence of which would rest not on definite texts, either in print or manuscripts, but on imperfect biographical notices, uncertain inferences, or traditions, of which the value was unknown.

Such was the stage in Germany.

Let us now turn to England, with a special view to the date and authorship of the earliest English drama on the story of Hamlet; and, moreover, with a clear understanding that the first English play of Hamlet is not necessarily a play by Shakespear. It may be so or it may not, and upon this point there is room for a great difference of opinion.

Of a "Hamlet," undoubtedly Shakespearian, and as a printed play, the earliest date is A.D. 1603. Of this edition only two copies are known—one in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, and one in the British Museum. As, however, there is a reprint of it in Hallwell's, and another in the Cambridge edition of Shakespear, we have four means of comparing with the later texts. From these it differs notably, and that on the side of defectiveness.

Then follows the fuller, and probably more authentic edition of the following year—the Quarto of A.D. 1604.

Here, then, are not only two editions of a "Hamlet," but two editions of a "Hamlet" of undoubted Shakespearian authorship. With the composition which now comes under notice, and which is really the oldest recorded drama on the subject of the Prince of Denmark, the case is widely different. The work itself has long been known—only however by name; inasmuch as no copy of the play, either in print or manuscript, has come down to us, nor have any fragments of it been preserved. Indeed there is no evidence that it was ever printed. We know, however, that it contained a ghost—perhaps we should say *the* ghost. There is nothing which connects it with the name of Shakespear, nothing which assigns it to any one else. We know, however, the date—A.D. 1589; so that if written by Shakespear it would have been written by him in his twenty-third year. This calculation we must check by an enquiry as to Shakespear's life during this interval, and we shall do well in beginning earlier than the important year 1589. To know what he was doing then we must

know what he had been doing before. There is not much that is very clear for this period. He was baptized April 26, 1564, and there are fair reasons for believing that his baptism was only a few days later than his birth; so that we may safely say that '64 was the date of his birth and baptism.

By '84 he was the father of a daughter, and two sons (twins) who were born in Stratford. He was now in his twentieth year.

What he did immediately after this is uncertain, and by '90 (*anno ætatis*, 26) he was not only in London, but the joint manager of the theatre at the Blackfriars. He began as an actor, but he was probably this and something more—a writer who put the older and ruder dramas submitted to his judgment into a more modern and less uncouth form and style. He did this (as he also acted) for some time and afterwards. At any rate, he was in 1589 an actor and manager, rather than a single-handed dramatist. How early he began to be this is uncertain; probably soon after the time of leaving Stratford, which was soon after the birth of the twins.

In '91 was published Spenser's "Tears of the Muses," in which there is a *supposed* allusion to Shakespear; in which he is believed to be indicated by the name *Willy*.

In '92 Robert Greene died. Now Robert Greene was one of what we should now call a *clique*, of which Marlow (who was born in the same year as Shakespear), Peele (somewhat older), and Nash were members. Greene was a clergyman, and with less poetry or rhetoric than his fellows, was, from his miscellaneous and discursive reading, a very useful man

in the coterie. He wrote poems and plays. But he was, also, a translator, among other languages, from the Spanish. As the romances thus translated often gave the plot to plays, such a man is prominent in the history of dramatic literature. He had lived, with his companions (one of whom was the unhappy genius Marlow), a dissolute life, and in his last days left to the world a sort of legacy in the shape of a warning. His "Groat's Worth of Rest Purchased by a Million of Repentance" is addressed to his fellow-workmen. Let them mend their ways: let them eschew, among others, one "Johannes Factotum," one who has a "tiger's heart in a player's hide;" one who, plagiarist as he was, and enriched by the work of other men, thought himself the only Shake-*scene* in the company. The import of this puerile quibble is manifest; or should any doubt of its application remain, a publication of the next year dispels it.

Greene's work was posthumous. Its editor was Chettle. Now in '93 Chettle makes, in his "Kind-hart's Dream," amends or apology to Shakespear. Greene was a friend of Marlow's, and Marlow's dissipation and religion had shocked him (Chettle).

From this we learn that, in his twenty-ninth year, Shakespear had become of sufficient prominence to be sneered at by one of his older contemporaries—the *Vorschule* or *Foreschool*, as it is called in Germany, of Shakespear.

In the same year with Chettle's "Kind-hart's Dream" is published Shakespear's "Venus and Adonis," a *non*-dramatic poem. This he dedicates to the Earl of Southampton as the "first heir of in-

vention." In an ordinary subject, and in ordinary times, these words would make the "Venus and Adonis" Shakespear's first work. But with a manager of a theatre a great deal of unrecognized work, in the way of the modification, the adoption, and the improvement of other men's dramas, may have to be done; and in this way, doubtless, Shakespear had done much.

In '94 his "Rape of Lucrece" is published. Still there is nothing in the shape of a separate substantive drama connected with the name of Shakespear; and this is five years after the date of the "Hamlet" to which Nash alludes. In this year Spenser, in his "Colin Clout's Come Home Again," alludes to Shakespear unambiguously.

By the end of '97 (Shakespear is now 33) "Richard II.," "Richard III.," and "Romeo and Juliet" are *published.*

Before the end of '98, not less than fifteen plays may be assigned to Shakespear. From Ames' list we get the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," "Love's Labour Lost," "Love's Labour Won" (which, as first suggested by Dr. Farmer, seems to have the original title of "All's Well that Ends Well"), "Midsummer Night's Dream," "Merchant of Venice," "Richard II.," "Richard III.," "Henry IV.," "King John," "Titus Andronicus," and "Romeo and Juliet." The evidence of the identity of "All's Well that Ends Well" with "Love's Labour Won" is capable of being improved; indeed, it is merely a guess, though a probable and ingenious one. "Henry IV." is presumed to mean the two parts. If so, the number in Ames is twelve, a number which coincides very closely

with the list which we should have got from other quarters — such as allusions to the "Comedy of Errors," and the actual publication of "Romeo and Juliet" and the two "Richards." The only drama, indeed, which, on the strength of evidence *aliunde*, can be added to the enumeration is Henry VI.;" which, with its three parts, brings up the number to fifteen. Nevertheless, Ames' dramas look like selected examples, or specimens of Shakespear's best works, rather than as a list of the whole of them. In any case, however, the omission of "Hamlet," if it were then in existence, and known to be a work of Shakespear's, is remarkable.

In 1599 he published the non-dramatic poem entitled "The Passionate Pilgrim;" and this brings us as near the date of the Hamlet of 1603 as we can be brought.

I now submit that, though the "Hamlet" of 1598 may have no existence *verbatim et literatim* in its original language, it may be either wholly or partially preserved, or at least adequately represented, by a translation in another language; that language being the German, and the text that of the *Bestrafte Brudermord.*

This is at variance with the general, and, as I believe, the universal opinion, and the reasons in favour of the view, so far as they are independent of text, to which the reader is referred, I will now produce. In respect to the external form of the play the differences are very considerable; though as far as the sequence of the scenes are concerned, and the general character of the framework of the dialogue, the agreement is of the closest.

There is a Prologue, in which Night addresses the Three Fairies. It is in verse, the body of the play being in prose. Herein Night tells the Sisters that while she is speaking a great crime is going on—viz., the wicked and incestuous marriage of the murderous, adulterous, and usurping brother of Hamlet's father. In this Prologue one of the German commentators sees a nearer approach to poetry than is to be found elsewhere; and so far as it is poetical, it is, or may be, Shakespearian.

Then come the Dramatis Personæ. Here the order is more ancient than modern, the males and females being mixed together, instead of the females being arranged by themselves at the end of the list; and the order being less regulated by the rank of the interlocutors than by the order in which they appear on the stage; though this is not adhered to with the strictness of the classical drama.

The names, too, are different, and Polonius and Reynaldo are Corambus and Montalto, as in the "Hamlet" of A.D. 1603. More remarkable still are the names of Hamlet's mother and uncle. The mother is called Signe—evidently a name of Scandinavian origin, the most famous Norse love-tale being that of Signe[15] and Hagbart; whose sad fate made their names household words to every youth and maiden of the North. The story is alluded to in the most popular Swedish poem of our own day; for it is pre-eminently the subject which an old minstrel would be supposed to take up when he changed his hand from records of savagery and heroism to those connected with the more tender passions:—

A minstrel sat beside the throne, he sang his best that day,

[15] I write *Signe* for *Sigrie meo periculo.*

And told a tale of tenderness, an old Norwegian lay;
Of Hacbart's fate and *Signe's* love—his voice was sweet and low,
That iron hearts began to melt, and tears were seen to flow.
Frithiof's Saga, xvii.

The uncle's name is Eric. This has undoubtedly at the first view as Scandinavian a look as Signe; but it is English as well. In the tale already noticed, of Argentile and Curan, the hero has a wicked uncle, and, just as it is in the present play, Eric is his name. But in both the romances from which the poem seems most especially to be taken no such name is found; the usurper there being . . . . Without enlarging upon the extent to which this connects Warner's (Havelok) Cuaran with Shakespear's "Hamlet," we may fairly infer that some lost tradition or some unknown record is the common foundation for the two names. Individually, I go further, and think either it may have had a Latin title—*Gesta Erici* (or *Eorici*) *Regis;* or, that out of confusion both of title and subject the actual *Chronicon Regis Erici* may have been so called. The assumed confusion, however, goes farther, until *Gesta Regis* ends in the *King's Jester*, and *Eric* becomes *Yorick*. It is only, however, in Shakespear that the Jester's name appears; indeed, in the German "Hamlet," the whole scene of the grave-diggers is conspicuous for its absence.

How this name originated is probably to be found in the history of Anlaf Cwiran, and notices of him in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[16] When Anlaf was driven out of his kingdom, the Northumbrians chose *Eric*, the son of Harald, in his stead; Harold meaning either Harald Haarfager or Harold Bluetooth.

[16] See page 34.

The scene changes whenever a new speaker enters.

Here we may turn to "Titus Andronicus." It has ıo Prologue; neither are there Scenes, or rather the ;cenes, to the amount of ten, are called Acts.

[he Dramatis Personæ in the English Play are:—

SATURNINUS, *son to the late Emperor* of Rome.
BASSIANUS, *brother to* Saturninus.
TITUS ANDRONICUS, a noble Roman.
MARCUS ANDRONICUS, brother to Titus.
LUCIUS, QUINTUS, MARTIUS, MUTIUS, *sons to* Titus Andronicus.
Young LUCIUS, *a boy, son to* Lucius.
PUBLICIS, *son to* Marcus, *the Tribune.*
ÆMILIUS, *a noble* Roman.
ALARBUS, CHIRON, DEMETRIUS, *sons to* Tamora.
AARON, a Moor.
A Captain, Tribune, Messenger and Clown.
Goths *and* Romans.
TAMORA, *Queen of the* Goths.
LAVINIA, *daughter to* Titus Andronicus.
A Nurse and a Black Child.
Kinsmen of Titus, *Senators, Tribunes.*
Soldiers and Attendants.

n the German "Titus Andronicus:"—

VESPASIAN.
The Roman Keyser.
TITUS ANDRONICUS.
ANDRONICA.

ÆTHIOPESSA, *Queen of* Æthiopia.
MORIAN (*i.e.*, Aaron the Moor).
HELICATES, eldest son of Æthiopessa.
Consort of Andronicus.
VICTONADES.
Messengers, White Guards.

With the exception of "Titus Andronicus," all the six plays in Cohn's valuable work are provided with a preliminary notice; telling us what is known about the date of their representation. Of Andronicus we are merely informed that it was acted about A.D. 1600, and that it was printed A.D. 1620, and reprinted A.D. 1624. Now A.D. 1600 is very early for a play of Shakespear's to reappear in Germany; though it must be added that, from a well-known passage from Meres, we learn not only that a play with such a title was acted in England, but also attributed to Shakespear. The time, then, is not too short for a simple transfer. It is very short, however, for such a transformation of Dramatis Personæ, and such a change in the character of the scenes, as the German play presents. Natural degradation, corruption, or whatever we choose to call it, is well-nigh out of the question. If the change be real it must be referred to a process of conscious adaptation; and of this there is a notable sign in the name of "The Roman Keyser," and in one of his speeches. In the stage directions he is described as the "Keyser who is not yet Keyser;" which is very nearly, in *Latin*, for the "Cæsar who is not Augustus." But in the dialogue he salutes Andronicus as Emperor—*i.e.*, in *German*, as Keyser; and again, says "Shall I, who am Cæsar, not be Emperor." This is German to all

intents and purposes. Adaptation, however, is not the only process which accounts for it. The play may have been German from the beginning.

The other complications, however, which arise from the agreement between the German "Hamlet" and the German "Titus Andronicus," are too numerous to be allowed to detain us. The reason for alluding to the present one lies in the argument it supplies against the doctrine of the difference between the nobler English texts and the more ignoble German ones being due to wear and tear, to time, to degradation, to vulgarization, and the like; though between the two "Titi Andronici" the difference between the better and the worse is of the smallest; not to mention the doubts as to the shares which Shakespear had in the English one.

These are arguments derived from the general character of the play in respect to its outward form. The special points of detail that supply any are the following three: —

1. The blunder about Roscius.
2. The allusion of Juvenal.
3. The reference to Portugal.

This last is of more weight than the other two two combined.

1. The Blunder about Roscius.

From the English Hamlet.

Polonius.—My lord, I have news to tell you.

Hamlet.—My lord, I have news to tell you. When *Roscius* was an actor in Rome—

Polonius. The actors are coming hither, my lord.

Hamlet. Buz, Buz!

Polonius. Upon mine honour—

Hamlet. "Then came each actor on his ass"—

Polonius. The best actors in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, &c.—Act ii. Scene ii.

From the German Hamlet.

Corambus. News, news! my lord. I have news to tell you. The actors are come, my lord.

Hamlet. When *Marius Roscius* was an actor at Rome, what fine times those were.

Corambus. Ha, ha, ha! How you always do laugh at me, my lord!

Hamlet. O! Jephthah, Jephthah! what a fair daughter hast thou!

Corambus. Why, my lord, you are still harping on my daughter.

Hamlet. Well, well, old greybeard, let the master of the actors come in.

Corambus. I will, my lord.—Act ii. Scene vi.

This is from the translation. In the original German *Marius Roscius* is *Marus Russig*. *Roscius*, however, is doubtless the true word. But what means *Marus?* It is submitted that it means *Amerinus*. Now there were two *Roscii*, and Cicero delivered an oration in defence of both. One was Roscius the actor; the other, *Sextus* Roscius *Amerinus*, who was no actor at all. This, however, is the Roscius of Corambus. Now this is a blunder that requires as much scholarship to achieve as to avoid; being one that a learned man might make from inadvertency whereas an unlearned one could not make it at all. It was certainly *not* made by Shakespear. This we

know from his text, where *Roscius* stands alone. It could scarcely have been made by the supposed adapters who came after him.

2. The Allusion to *Juvenal.*

This is in the same predicament with the preceding. It is more classical than the text of the supposed original.

From the English Hamlet.

Osric. Sweet lord, if your friendship were at leisure, I should impart a thing to you from his Majesty.

Hamlet. I will receive it with all diligence of spirit; put your bonnet to its right use; 'tis for the head.

Osric. I thank your lordship, 'tis very hot.

Hamlet. No, believe me, 'tis very cold; the wind is northerly.

Osric. It is indifferent cold, my lord, indeed.

Hamlet. Methinks it is very sultry, and hot, for my complexion.

Osric. Exceedingly, my lord; it is very sultry—as 't were —I cannot tell how, etc.—Act v. Scene ii.

From the German Hamlet.

Hamlet. Look, Horatio, this fool is infinitely dearer to the King than my poor person. Let's hear what he has to say.

Phantasmo. Welcome to home, Prince Hamlet! Have you heard the last news? The King has laid a wager on you and young Leonardo. You are to measure your skill at fencing, and he who gives his opponent the first two thrusts is to win a white Neapolitan horse.

Hamlet. Are you sure of what you say?

Phantasmo. Ay, ay, so it is, as I say.

Hamlet. Horatio, what may this mean? I and Leonardo to fight. They have been imposing on this poor fool, for one can make him believe what one likes. Observe; Signor Phantasmo, 'tis horribly cold.

Phantasmo. Ay, ay, 'tis horribly cold.

[*His teeth chattering with cold.*

Hamlet. Now it is no more cold.

Phantasmo. You're right, my lord, just the happy medium.

Hamlet. But now it is very hot.

[*Wiping his face.*

Phantasmo. O what a dreadful heat!

[*Also wiping away the perspiration.*

Hamlet. It seems to me 'tis neither very cold nor very warm.

Phantasmo. Yes, now it is just temperate.

Hamlet. Do you see, Horatio, one can make him believe what one will. Phantasmo, go, get thee to the King, and say I'll wait upon him instantly.

With this compare—

> Natio comæda est. Rides? Meliore cachinno
> Concutitur; flet si lacrymas conspexit amici,
> Nec dolet; igniculum brumæ si tempore poscas,
> Accipit endromiden; si dixeris "Æstuo," sudat.
>
> JUV. SAT. iii. v. 100—103.

This is what the satirist says of the Greek parasite. In the German text there is, to say the least, a similarity sufficient to suggest a comparison. The English text has never suggested anything; not even to Johnson, who had paraphrased the satire.

THE REFERENCE TO PORTUGAL.

From the English Hamlet.

Hamlet. How long hast thou been a grave-maker?

First Clown. Of all the days in the year, I came to it that day that our last King Hamlet o'ercame Fortinbras.

Hamlet. How long is that since?

First Clown. Cannot you tell that? Every fool can tell that. It was the very day that young Hamlet was born—he that was mad and sent into England?

Hamlet. Ay, marry, why was he sent into England.

First Clown. Why, because he was mad. He shall recover his wits there; or, if he do not, it's no great matter there.

Hamlet. Why?

First Clown. 'Twill not be seen there in him; there are men as mad as he.—ACT v. SCENE i.

From the German Hamlet.

King. We have determined to send you to England, because the crown is friendly to our own, as if to refresh yourself there for a time, because the air is wholesomer, and may better promote your recovery. We will give you some of our own attendants, who shall accompany you, and serve you faithfully.

Hamlet. Ay, ay, King, send me off to *Portugal, that I may never come back again,* that is the best plan.

King. No, *not to Portugal but to England,* and those two shall accompany you on the journey. But when you arrive in England, you shall have more attendants.—iii. 10.

Now if the older Hamlet (or the Hamlet with the older allusion) were connected with any other date but that of the year 1598, I should account for the text by supposing that it applied to the King of that country, Don Sebastian; whose unfortunate expedition into Africa ended with the Battle of Alcazar. Here he was thoroughly defeated by Abdelmelek, King of Morocco; but, as his body was not found on the field, and as he never afterwards appeared alive,

his fate has remained a mystery from that time to this. His subjects, to the very last, expected his reappearance, and long after the natural date of his death there were sanguine Portuguese who believed that, like Arthur in Avalon, he was sleeping a long, perhaps an endless, sleep in the Canary Islands; a belief which is said to be not even now wholly extinct.

The fate of Don Sebastian affected the imagination of men all over Europe, and nowhere more than in England; and in England it gave birth to a play by Peele—"The Battle of Alcazar." An historical event will keep longer than a passing allusion. It also crops out again in the reign of King James I.; but this was under circumstances well exhibited by Colonel Cunningham in his remarks of Massinger's play, "Believe as you List." It was acted about the time of the negotiations of the famous Spanish marriage; and as allusions to the fate of Don Sebastian were unpleasant to the Spanish Court, an allusion in Massinger's play (or one reasonably supposed to be such) is forbidden by the dramatic censor of the time.

Still the allusion is a possible one, just as the stanzas of the present Laureate on the "Balaclava Charge" might be written in the present year. The subject, however, in either case would be an old one. In 1598, however, the converse was the case. Indeed the most plausible objection to that date is the possible one of its being too new; for it falls within the very year to which the older Hamlet, *as its latest date.* As Peele wrote on both expeditions—Don Sebastian's and the one under notice, we find, as we expect from the high character of the editor, ample

information as to each of them, in Mr. Dyce's edition of that poet's works, from which the following notice is an extract;—

"In 1589, while the public exultation at the defeat of the Spanish Armada had not yet subsided, a band of gallant adventurers (chiefly excited by the desire of gain or glory) fitted out, almost entirely at their own expense, a fleet for an expedition into Portugal, for the declared purpose of setting on the throne of that country the bastard Don Antonio, who had taken refuge in England. On the 18th of April the armament set sail from Plymouth, consisting of 180 vessels and 21,000 men under the command of Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris. A minute detail of the disasters that ensued would here be out of place. Suffice it to say that about eleven thousand persons perished in this expedition, and of the eleven hundred gentlemen who accompanied it, only three hundred and fifty returned to their native country.—*Works of T. Peele, edited by J. Dyce*, p. 540.

Peele's works on the two expeditions are three in number: *two* being on this. The "Farewell" comes at the beginning; the "Eclogue Gratulatory" at the conclusion of it. To the "Farewell" is annexed "A Tale of Troy," written as stimulus to his countrymen that they "may march in equipage of honour and arms with their glorious and renowned predecessors, the Trojans." Here we get the following allusion to the hero of Alcazar—it may be added, the hero of Peele's own play on that event:—

> Bid theatres and proud tragedians,
> Bid Mahomet, Scipio, and mighty Tambarlaine,
> King Charlemagne, *Tom Stukely*, and the rest,
> Adieu.

The "Eclogue Gratulatory" is dedicated to the

Earl of Essex, who had joined the expedition, and was, moreover, one of the few who came back from it.

Eclogue Gratulatory.

Piers.

Certes, sir shepherd, comen he is from far,
From wrath of deepest seas and storm of war,
Safe is he come. O, swell, my pipe, with joy,
To the old buildings of new-reared Troy.
Io, io, pæan!

From sea, from shore, where he with swink and sweat,
Felt foeman's rage and summer's parching heat,
Safe is he come, laden with honour's spoil,
O, swell, my pipe, with joy, and break the while.
Io, io, pæan!

Palinode.

Thou foolish swain that thus art overjoy'd,
How soon may here thy courage be accoy'd!
If he be one come new from western coast,
Small cause has he, or those, for him to boast.

I see no palm, I see no laurel boughs
Circle his temples or adorn his brows;
I hear no triumph for this late return,
But many a herdsman more disposed to mourn.

The scene from which this Notice of Portugal is taken, is one where the dialogue is between Hamlet and his father, in the middle of the play, the remark upon the madness of the English being towards the end of it; the grave-diggers and the name of Yorick being wholly non-existent in the German.

In respect to the allusion to Juvenal, it is probable that the "wiping of the face" re-appears in the handkerchief which his mother lends him during the fencing match.

Taking these three special points as we find them, it is submitted that the third is in favour of the German Hamlet dating from the year in question, and the other two are more against than in favour of Shakespear having been the author of the play. The remainder of the argument is less open to isolated points of evidence. It lies in the text itself, upon which the reader must form his own judgment.

XI.—ON THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH.

(Read June 21, 1871.)

THE discovery of an autograph manuscript of the twelfth century is a rare piece of fortune, though it would be difficult to say how many such will hereafter be dislodged from dusty shelves and long forgotten corners to reward the successful hunters after such *spolia opima* of the kings of literature with fame richly merited.[1] It is only within a few years, comparatively speaking, that the bare idea of the existence of an autograph manuscript, that is to say, a book written by the very hand of its author from time to time as his task proceeded, and evincing by its corrections, erasures, additions, and manifest improvements the laborious occupation of the actual composer for months, or perhaps years, began to gain

[1] The examination of manuscripts bearing upon the subject of William of Malmesbury and his works has revealed the existence of several autograph manuscripts. 1. *The Exposition of the Lamentations of Jeremiah.* 2. *The Letter to Peter.* 3. *A Volume of Collections and Abbreviations;* all these are of William of Malmesbury. 4. *Life of St. Martial, Bishop of Limoges,* corrected by the hand of the author. 5. *Life of St. Dunstan,* by Osbern of Canterbury. There is, too, at Durham, Simeon of Durham's autograph *History of the Cathedral,* (published by Thomas Bedford in 1732).

ground with the literary world. True, we have heard of, and indeed our national library has long possessed, the celebrated Durham Book, as it is called, a fine copy of the Gospels in Latin, written and illuminated in honour of St. Cuthbert, by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, between the years 698 and 720; we have, too, the instrument wherein St. Dunstan has himself written—"Ego Dunstanus indignus abbas "rege eadredo imperante hanc domino meo here-"ditariam kartulam dictitando conposui, et propriis "digitorum articulis perscripsi."[2]

But these and such similar writings must be regarded more in the light of compilations or transcripts than of original compositions. It was reserved for Sir Frederic Madden, when Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, availing himself of the opportunity afforded him in that storehouse of untold literary treasures, to bring to light the *Historia Minor* of Matthew Paris, an autograph manuscript written, according to the Chronicler himself, in the year 1250, and embracing the History of England between the years 1067 and 1245; and for another palæographer, occupied in the same institution, to discover, —accidentally, indeed, as he tells us—the autograph manuscript of the *Gesta Pontificum*, written by William, the Monk of Malmesbury, in the year 1125, containing an account of the series of prelates, and generally of the Church History of England, from the earliest period down to his own times. To Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, who some years ago distinguished himself by a lucid denunciation of the systematic Shakespeare forgeries, as they are termed,

[2] Brit. Mus., Cart. Cott., Augustus ii. 57, A.D. 949.

we are directly indebted to the production of this book, and indirectly, but not the less so on that account, to the Master of the Rolls, whose successful proposition of printing the "Chronicles and "Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland" has hitherto borne such good fruit, the two autographs just mentioned being among the series already published. Let us here express a fervent hope that the work of editing our old Chronicles and Historical Records may proceed for many a year, and that these and other palæographers may be thereby enabled to bring us face to face, as it were, with earnest men of other ages, who, labouring for posterity, lived and died in the seclusion of the cloister, the hum of the court, or the bustle of the campaign, long before England had risen to a place among the nations of the world.

William of Malmesbury, the author of the works I am about to consider, was probably born between the years 1080-1085, in the town of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire. There are but two passages in his whole works which throw any light upon the probable date of his birth; —(1.) that monks of his time had seen Abbot Wulfsine in the flesh, and remembered his good character;—(2.) that he assisted in carrying out Abbot Godefrey's design of forming a library in the abbey. On the former of these points I have to make the following remarks:—Wulfsine, or Wlsinus, occurs in a group of Abbots, placed by William of Malmesbury in his account of the abbey introduced into the *Vita Sancti Aldhelmi*, or fifth book of the *Gesta Pontificum*, between 980 and 1066, and as there come after him, four Abbots living for 10, 1½, 7, and 7 years respectively (in all 25½

years,[3]) Wulfsine's date, by the latest computable period, terminates in 1040. The date of William of Malmesbury's birth, according to the hitherto received opinions, is 1095, but it is almost too much to suppose that he could converse with men who were monks 65 years before he was born, and, therefore, 80 to 85 years old at the time of his birth, and 90 to 100 years old before he would be likely to interest himself in collecting historical matters from them. To bring this circumstance within bound of probability, if not possibility, we must allow the date of his birth to be thrown back ten or fifteen years, especially as it will then coincide with the second passage I have mentioned, wherein he says Abbot Godefrey (1088-*circa* 1106) commenced the formation of a library, and he aided in carrying out the plans.

Suppose William was occupied on this about 1100, he must have been 15 or 20 years old at the time, and we return to 1080-1085 as the probable date of his birth. He came of mixed parentage, Norman and Saxon[4], and passed the earlier days of his life in the immediate vicinity of the abbey in that town,—a Benedictine monastery fast rising into fame as one of the principal abbeys in England—long after, when describing the miracles of his patron, St. Aldhelm, he tells us how vivid was his recollection of the fierce and sanguinary expression in the eyes of a demoniac, who attacked him, while, as a child naturally would, he was looking on at the wretch,

[3] Cf. *On the Succession of the Abbots of Malmesbury*, by W. de. G. Birch, in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1871. pp. 314—342.

[4] *Gesta Regum*, lib. iij. prologue.

who had been tied by the kind offices of friends to the altar of the abbey, awaiting the intercession of the monks, and the ready aid of the Saint never denied to such a supplication.[5] This youth William, to whom Leland, Cave, and other early writers have assigned the family name of Somerset, but without apparent reason, doubtless entered at an early age into the school attached to the abbey, which had been established long before the abbey itself was founded, and was the origin of that institution. For about the year 796 one Meldum, or as he is also called, and perhaps with better reason, Meildulf, a Scot, (that is, a descendant or representative of the Irish missionary immigrants into the western isles of Ayrshire in the fifth and sixth centuries, where they set up the beginnings of Christianity in the midst of pagan rights rivalling those recorded of Moloch and Belial,) came down to the banks of the river Bladon, being disgusted with the opposition he had experienced in the north; in the Castle of Ingelbourne on this river he made a stand, and collected round him many scholars, among whom was Aldhelm, who afterwards succeeded to his master's post. These men eventually took the monastic habit, and were the first originators of the abbey.[6]

I am unwilling on this occasion to enter very far upon a history of the abbey, which demands, as it is entitled to, a separate treatment, or upon the life of St. Aldhelm, which has been, as the Society doubtless is aware, one of the themes penned by Mr. Thomas

[5] *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 439.

[6] *Eulogium Historiarum* . . . . a monacho quodam Malmesburiensi exaratum, vol. i., p. 225. Edited for the Master of the Rolls by F. S. Haydon, B.A., London 1858.

Wright, in the "Biographia Literaria Britannica," published under the direction of the Society, but I will only here remind you that Aldhelm, at that time a noble West-Saxon youth of fair lineage and handsome person, attracted by the fame of Meildulf's teaching, was at a later date associated with his teacher in communicating the rudiments of Latin, and perhaps of Greek to the succeeding generations of his native province. Here he ultimately erected the abbey, of which he was reputed the second founder, on the site of the school, having been instrumental in persuading the scholars to take monastic vows, and himself making a journey to Rome to obtain papal privileges for the new abbey.[7]

Be this as it may, having been placed by his father under the influence of literature at an early age, in this school our author acquired what knowledge he possessed of Latin, demonstrating by his after writings an acquaintance with the beauties of that tongue, equalled by none in his own days, and surpassing by the pure style of the best portions of his works, the bald or inflated productions which both before and after him held the reputation of good scholarship[8]. Here he gathered up the greater portion of the Holy Scriptures, of the Classical authors, and of the principal Christian writers, with

[7] The fifth Book of the *Gesta Pontificum*, or *Vita Aldhelmi*, contains a full and remarkable account of the Sainted Author, who became Bishop of Sherborne in 705, and died in 709. In Sir H. C. Englefield's *Description of the I. of Wight* (London, 1816), pl. 40-43, are drawings of St. Aldhelm's chapel in Dorsetshire, an edifice which bears signs of great antiquity, and is possibly contemporary with the Saint's own time.

[8] . . . . voluntati fuit . . . exarata barbaricæ Romano sale condire . . . *Gesta Regum*, Prolog. lib. i.

quotations and phrases from which he has so studded his works that it would be very difficult to say what works of any weight or excellence he has not read. For all that, his modesty prompted him to express a hope that when the favour or malice of his adherents or opponents should be alike removed, posterity would accord to him *si non eloquentiæ titulum, saltem industriæ testimonium*[9]. He himself tells us,[10] that for a long time previous to commencing authorship, he had made books his constant care, thanks to the attention of his parents, and to his own diligence. "For this desire came over me from my very boy-
"hood; this joy grew within me as my years in-
"creased, and my father, too, was always showing
"me how attending to anything else was wasting life
"and throwing away the chance of reputation . . . .
"so I gave my mind to various branches of literature,
"but in different degrees; as for logic, that armour
"of eloquence, I only listened to it; medicine, the
"healer of infirmities, I liked somewhat better; but
"drawing in with my whole soul the rudiments of
"ethics, I bowed before the majesty of the science
"which unveils herself to her students, and teaches
"them how to live as they should: my chiefest
"delight being in history, which exhorts one either
"to imitate good, or to avoid bad actions by a happy
"knack of putting examples of each kind before one."

Although the abbey owed the formation and, perhaps, even acquisition of its library to the young monk, yet it must have been well supplied with books of all

[9] *Gesta Regum*, Prolog, lib. i.

[10] See the Prologue to the *Gesta Regum*, lib. ii., which is replete with curious and interesting matter bearing upon his personal history.

kinds, as we find throughout his works frequent references to, and quotations either *verbatim* or adapted from almost all the Latin classical writers, and most of the more eminent Theologians, Historians, and Philosophers then known. He was, too, in the habit of purchasing with his own private means copies of the works of foreign historians,[11] of which he made good use in composing his own histories, and he has left behind, as we shall see presently, some abbreviations of such works for the use of his fellow monks. In addition to his knowledge of history, he displays occasionally his good abilities as a poet[12] and a satirist.[13] His knowledge of the Greek language, if we may judge by the few words of that tongue introduced into his works, was not of a very correct nature, hardly a single word being properly rendered; and in most cases each word experienced a violent distortion before it was written.

Although the Latin of the author's period was perhaps as well studied as that of our own times, and in some instances preserved an orthography more nearly representing the original, and at any rate indicating the vigorous progression of a living tongue, yet it was probably not in the power of any Englishman, or rather of any inhabitant of Northern Europe, in those days to obtain an accurate knowledge of Greek in his own country: albeit, many, and among them notably St. Aldhelm, imported so many Greek words into their Latin writing that they appear more Greek than Latin; and we may safely say that not a single example

[11] *Gesta Regum*, Prolog. lib. ii.
[12] *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 187. [13] *Ibid*, p. 433.

exists of a Greek manuscript transcribed in England at that period. All Latin manuscripts of the twelfth century, with Greek words introduced into the text, have the same barbarously contorted, and often unrecognizable; for example we may mention the words *τὸ λογιστικόν, τὸ Θυμικόν, τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν* which occur in strange garb in the following passage: "Legimus in Platone[14]. . . . "tres esse in humanâ "animâ passiones, ***ΠΩΛΣΙΣΘΙΚΩΝ*** (polsisthicon), "quod nos possumus interpretari rationabile; ***ΘΩΘ-*** "***ΗΙΜΙΚΩΝ*** (tothimicon), quod dicimus plenum iræ "vel irascibile; ***ΘΩΕΘΙΘΗΙΜΕΘΙΚΩΝ*** (toetithime-"ticon), quod appellamus concupiscibile," which occurs in a fragment of a manuscript of the twelfth century, containing part of a sermon or philosophical discourse.[15] Again, the Greek alphabet written on the reverse of William of Malmesbury's autograph letter to his friend Peter, concerning the Life of St. Johannes Scottus is a curious indication of the ideas of our twelfth century monks respecting the nature of the language, and may possibly have been the identical one used by the author.[16]

At any early age then, William became a monk of the Benedictine Order, perhaps about the year 1110, or even sooner, and immediately set about collecting materials for his literary histories. He had from the first, and naturally, considering the deeply religious atmosphere in which his whole life was centred, shewn a veneration for the Saints, especially

[14] *Plato Repub.*, 439.

[15] Brit. Mus., MS. Sloan, 1044, f. 112.

Cf. also the note at the end of this paper in further illustration of this subject.

[16] Appendix to the Royal MSS. in the Brit. Mus., 85, f. 121.

those of his country, such as is rarely met with in these days; but in his times this feeling was universally considered the height of holiness and devotion. On one occasion, when a great peril menaced his life—perhaps when the rebel[17] Robert filius Huberti threatened to put the monks of Malmesbury to the sword, in the early spring of 1140, and would have done so had not his own death at the king's hands prevented it—he was saved from mortal danger by their aid, and considered himself to have been especially beholden to the patronage of St. Aldhelm for his life and talents, all the good things, as he calls them, of this world.

He collected with unceasing perseverance, all the materials within his reach for a comprehensive account of the indigenous Saints: some disjointed portions of the British Hagiology, which he contemplated compiling, being still preserved for us, though the greater portion is lost; and it is doubtful whether he ever accomplished his idea of condensing the Lives and Miracles of the Saints from the works of other authors, and uniting them into one grand book, as he frequently and bitterly complains of the scarcity of notices about them worthy of credit.[18] The title *Saint* seems to have been employed both by him and many before and after him, with a very broad signification; any royal and ecclesiastical personage remarkable for the unusual development of the nobler attributes of morality; any distinguished individual whose manner of life or death might in some way have been the

[17] *Historia Novella*, lib. ii., § 36, *Ed.* Hardy.
[18] *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 202, 254, 277.

subject of uncommon circumstances; any one who favoured the cause of the Gospel in the days when it was not firmly established in the land, rightly to his mind merited a place in that glorious fellowship whose praises were ever the subject of his "angel "pen,"[19] and whose examples he was always propounding to himself, using them as a standard, whereby to judge better the merits and demerits of others. In fact, the whole of the *Gesta Pontificum* is filled with the doings of the Saints, for were we to subtract from that work the accounts he has given of St. Anselm, St. Wlstan, St. Wilfrid, St. Aldhelm, St. Cuthbert, and others, very little would remain; perhaps, too, the very fact of being an archbishop or bishop, unless there were notably grave causes to the contrary, was sufficient to raise the prelate forthwith in the mind of our author to the dignity of Saint-hood. His earnest love and veneration for the Saints was equalled by his unshaken belief in regard to their constant presence with the faithful; every coincidence, almost every unexpected event or remarkable circumstance being attributed by him, as by most of his contemporaries, to the direct agency of the Saints or their Creator.

But if all that he attributes to them in this respect be strictly true, facts which even now would be considered miraculous occasionally took place under his own immediate observation. He was present when a man recovered his sight after his eyes had been plucked out by the violence of his enemies;[20] he beheld wondrous cures of various

[19] Henry Scale English, *Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a regular dissection of the Saxon Chronicle.* 1830. 12mo.

[20] *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 168.

diseases,[21] and punishments miraculously inflicted at the displeasure, and as divinely remitted at the pacification of the Saints. It may be that he considered himself the subject of a miracle whereby he was saved from the mortal peril mentioned above; at any rate, he was always evincing the liveliest faith in their efficient intercession, and the strongest regard for their honour and divinity.[22] It is curious to contemplate how, to a mind like William of Malmesbury's, notably reverent, and at times almost superstitious, the excessive church decoration, then coming into vogue, was especially distasteful; even if he did not consider it as an innovation hardly warranted by the customary rules of the ecclesiastical profession. In speaking with unreserved praise of the then newly risen order of Cistercians, he launches the strongest invectives against the gaudy ornamentation so common in other monasteries, and his antithetic use of *nos* evidently implies the Benedictine order in the following passage:—

"Nihil ibi, sicut in cæteris cœnobiis, videas ful-
"gurare auro, renidere gemma, micare argento; nam
"ut Gentilis ait

. . . in Sancto quid facit aurum? [*Pers.* ii. 69.]

"*Nos* in sacratis vasis parum putamus actum nisi crassi
"crustam metalli obumbret honor lapidum, vel topa-
"ziorum flamma, vel ametistorum viola, vel smarag-
"dorum lux herbida, nisi tunicæ sacerdotales auro lu-
"dant; nisi multicoloribus parietes picturis renideant,
"et solem ad lacunar sollicitent. At vero *illi*, ea quæ
"prima mortales falso æstimant in secundis habentes,

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 320, 433, 436, 441.
[22] Cf. *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 121, 193, 202, 275.

"omne studium in ornandis moribus ponunt, magisque "amant splendidas mentes quam auratas vestes . . ."[23]

His fame as a historian must have been recognized at an early period in his life, and, indeed, one passage in his *Gesta Regum* seems to be a modest allusion to the popularity he enjoyed,[24] and this justly when we consider how carefully he avoided statements he could not corroborate,[25] for there is little doubt that between the first edition of the *Gesta Regum* and the later editions of the same he was employed by the monastery of Glastonbury to compile his history of that abbey, now extant under the title of "*Willelmi* "*Malmesbiriensis de Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ec-* "*clesiæ liber*," of which Trinity College, Cambridge, possesses the only early copy transcribed in the twelfth century.[26] Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, writing of this work says, "Malmesbury appears here to "have been trammelled by his task. He had a "certain quantity of materials placed in his hands, "in order that he might elevate as much as possible "the dignity of Glastonbury, and his critical scep- "ticism seems frequently struggling against the "servile performance of his task . . . . . yet he has "as usual made the most of his materials and given "many curious particulars of manners and customs." The religious of Worcester Abbey also availed themselves of his literary talent in procuring from his pen

[23] *Gesta Regum*, lib. iv., p. 516.

[24] "Neque vero confido quod hæc a me, quam ab aliis qui scripserunt, dicantur commodius; sed ut, quod a multis scribitur, a multis legatur." Prolog. lib. iv.

[25] "Quicquid vero de recentioribus ætatibus apposui, vel ipse vidi, vel a viris fide dignis audivi. *Gesta Regum*, Prolog. lib. i.

[26] Printed by Gale in the *Quindecim Scriptores* 1691, and reprinted by Hearne in 1727.

a life of their sainted Bishop and patron Wlstan, the only copy of which exists among the Cottonian manuscripts[27] This book has been considered by some to have been composed about the year 1140 but it was probably earlier, as much of the ground it embraces occurs in the *Gesta Pontificum* of 1125. Other monasteries probably thus employed him in setting forth the histories of their patron Saints, or in correcting those they already possessed, and the remains he has left to posterity of his own autograph collations and corrections in many of the manuscripts, known to have belonged at his period to religious houses throughout England, testify to the extent of his reading, and to the great request he was ever held in by the learned monks of his day.

He himself mentions books he had seen at Canterbury, Bury St. Edmunds, and elsewhere.[28] It was undoubtedly on this account that Godefrey of Jumiéges, Abbot of Malmesbury, himself an ardent writer and book-collector, appointed the author to the position of librarian, and perhaps also to that of precentor to the abbey. By these means his favorite labour obtained freer scope, and he became the means of enriching the book-stores of that monastery, not only with historial compositions, but with transcripts, abbreviations, or digests of theological and other works, even purchasing with his own means books from abroad which he found it necessary to consult during the progress of his task. In the pro-

[27] Claudius A.V., f. 160. Printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra;* the *Acta Sanctorum*, vj., and Migne's '*Patrologiæ Cursus*,' 179.

[28] Rev. J. Sharpe's Translation of the *Gesta Regum*, London, 4 to., 1815. Preface p. viii. This book contains a masterly review of William of Malmesbury's style and literary culture.

logue to his Abbreviation of Amalarius *De Divinis Officiis* he has vividly recounted how he sat with his friend Robert Duke of Gloucester (natural son of King Henry I., and to whom the *Gesta Regum* is dedicated) in the library of the abbey, turning over the books at their leisure, and conversing profitably upon the subjects they contained. The passage is so remarkable for the glimpse it affords of the manners of the age, and so strongly illustrates Malmesbury's keen appreciation of the writers upon Church matters, that it is worthy of being here reproduced in the original language.[29]

The author of the *Eulogium Historiarum*, a Malmesbury monk of the fourteenth century, in speaking of Malmesbury's work upon St. Aldhelm, says:—"Quod quidam abbas Abbendoniæ, Faricius nomine, "vitam suam descripserat et historiam de eo ediderat, "sed postea, quia rude compositum fuerat, Willelmus "Malmesburiæ monachus et præcentor modo decenti "et ornato stilo totam vitam suam investigavit et "composuit de pueritia, de juventute, de senectute, de "monachatu, de episcopatu, de obitu, de miraculis "ante obitum et post, per insinuationem librorum "Bedæ presbyteri modo debito et competenti suffi-"cienter ordinavit."[30] When speaking of his labours to raise the library of his abbey to the highest point of excellence, he breathes a pious wish that those who come after him will at least take the trouble to preserve what had taken him such pains to collect, but with what effect we may best gather from the following extract from Moffatt's History of Malmes-

[29] See further on under the description of his abbreviation of Amalarius.

[30] Vol. i., p. 225. See note 5.

bury:—". . . all music books, accompt books, &c., "were covered with old manuscripts, and the glovers "in the town made great havock with them: gloves, "no doubt, were wrapped up in many good pieces of "antiquity. The inhabitants even used the manu-"scripts which came from the abbey instead of bungs "and corks for stopping up their vessels."[31] To such an inglorious end then came the labours of this and other authors, whose works must always remain the only basis of the knowledge of our country's early history.[32]

Thus he passed the greater part of his life dividing the time between the prosecution of his literary studies and the performance of duties his religious vows required, being personally present in the year 1139 at the Council of Winchester, and declining in favour of his friend John, in the year 1140, the offered promotion to the abbacy of Malmesbury. His *Historia Novella*, wherein he warmly espouses the cause of Queen Matilda against King Stephen terminates abruptly in 1142, and this fact has been adduced by some in support of the argument that he died about that time. Bale, Pits, and Tanner make the date of his death to be in 1142 or 1143, but it must be borne in mind that all the manuscripts of the *Gesta Pontificum*, with the exception of the autograph, end in an equally sudden manner. It is possible that he lived to see the restoration of peace throughout the kingdom by the accession of Henry

[31] *History of the Town of Malmesbury*, by the Rev J. R. Moffatt, Tetbury, 1805, p. 63, and see the note for other instances. Cf. also Aubrey's *History of Wiltshire*.

[32] Cf. *The Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall Surveyed*, by the Rev. John Whitaker, London, 1804.

II., in the year 1154. The exact number of his years we know not, but one manuscript of the *Gesta Regum*[33] seems to testify to the shaking hand and wandering thought of one well ripened in old age, to the last correcting and improving the works of his younger days. Leland,[34] from whom much may be gleaned respecting the life and writings of our monk, says that he died at Malmesbury and was buried in the abbey, but when he looked for the tomb no one could point it out to him, and only one or two of the monks remembered his name.

The following, it is believed, is a list of all the works, original and compilations, by William of Malmesbury, arranged, as far as can be ascertained in order of Chronology, but it does not pretend to strict accuracy of sequence. The works seem to partake of two aspects, the religious or doctrinal, and the historical or biographical, his fame principally resting upon these latter ones, chiefly for the undoubted veracity of his narrative, the judgment he has displayed in discriminating between truth and fable, and the impartial spirit he ever exhibited in attacking vice wherever he found it, and in praising the good qualities even of a bitter enemy. He himself more than once states that impartiality and veracity are the only means whereby history can be faithfully written, and that for his part he has always adhered faithfully to them.[35]

[33] Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 23,147.

[34] *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, i., 196.

[35] Cf. *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 9, 331. In the prologue to his *Life of St. Wlstan* the following passage occurs: "Et vos quidem, dum "vitalis adhuc auræ compotes, probe cognoscetis me nichil dicere, "quod non sit solidâ veritate subnixum, quod non sit probabilium "virorum testimonio compertum." Savile, in the preface to his edi-

1. MIRACULA Sanctæ Dei Genitricis et Perpetuæ Virginis Mariæ.

A careful comparison of the innumerable collections of miracles attributed to the B. V. Mary, points to the fact that the Cottonian manuscript Cleopatra, c. x., f. 100-147, in the British Museum, is the work of William of Malmesbury, and further, that it is, in all probability, the autograph of that author. It is written in a hand closely resembling that of the early portion of the *Gesta Pontificum*, and the size of the book and peculiar rough nature of the vellum employed, agree in a remarkable manner with the latter MS. The manuscript has been carefully corrected throughout in the author's hand, and the intrinsic proofs of the authorship are favourable to the idea. The Prologue unfolds the plan of the compilation, just as in well-known examples of Malmesbury's compositions, and after stating his intention of condensing other more prolix productions, the author proceeds as follows: "Deprecamur autem ut non "nobis ascribatur quod diversus in nostro opere stilus "repperiatur, quoniam non id egit superbia sed potius "exemplorum inopia." This possesses all the spirit and peculiar ring of the author's style, and is followed up by strong declarations of his determined adherence to the truth alone. At folio 141, the following occurs: "Sicut prior Certesiæ, vir venerabilis, do-"minus Ædricus, mihi qui hæc scribo retulit, et qui "hæc quæ refero se vidisse et audisse asseruit." Ædricus has unfortunately been omitted from all

tion, p. 1, says of him, "Homo, ut erant illa tempora, literate doctus, "qui septingentorum plus minus annorum res tantâ fide et diligentiâ "pertexuit, ut e nostris prope solus historici manus explesse vi-"deatur."

lists of the priors of this abbey, so that a date cannot be founded upon this passage, but the sentence is illustrated in many instances where our author says that he has heard from a person then living, the anecdote he is about to relate.[36] At the conclusion of a tale concerning a monk, he repeats: "Hæc vero "propterea de isto monacho descripsi, sicut andivi, "ut semper certi existamus." At the end of the work the author has copied Anselm's homily upon the text, "Intravit Jhesus in quoddam castellum," which also occurs in the Lambeth autograph transcript of Anselm's works. This piece was written at the desire of two Norman Abbots, whose date[37] would fix the production of the book between the years 1088 and 1108, and so make it one of Malmesbury's earliest works.

2. De Miraculis Beati Andreæ.

It has been doubted whether the work bearing this title may rightly be ascribed to William of Malmesbury's pen. The principal arguments against his being the author are founded on the facts that no manuscript occurs bearing his name at the commencement, and that he nowhere mentions having prepared such a work. On the other hand, Leland, Bale, and the other early writers ascribe such a work to him, and at least two manuscripts of the *Gesta Regum*[38] bear this work immediately following the History, and another manuscript,[39] containing a collection of Lives of Saints, has the words "per Guil.

[36] Cf. *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 31, 411, &c.

[37] *Gallia Christiana*, xii. *Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vi., p. 1053.

[38] Brit. Mus., MS. Harl., 2. MS. Arundel, 222.

[39] Brit. Mus., MS. Cott., Nero, E. 1, fo. 56, b.

"Malmesburiensem" written at the commencing sentence of these miracles in a sixteenth-century hand, resembling that in which many side notes have been inserted throughout the greater portion of the Historical manuscripts, and which, though not identified, cannot but be referred to the hand of a learned man.

There appear, from an examination of the manuscripts, to be two editions of the miracles. The prologue and epilogue, which have never before been printed, are worthy of insertion to show how marvellously the style resembles that of William of Malmesbury's other works, and to ndicate the day of his birth, and that of his entryi into the profession of a monk. "Prologus. Inclita "sanctorum apostolorum trophæa nulli credo latere "fidelium; quia quædam exinde evangelica dogmata "docent, quædam apostolici actus narrant. De qui-"busdam vero extant libri in quibus propriæ actiones "eorum denotantur, de plerisque enim nichil aliud "nisi passionum scripta suscipimus. Nam repperi "librum de virtutibus Sancti Andreæ apostoli, qui "propter nimiam verbositatem a nonnullis apo-"criphus dicebatur. De quo placuit, ut retractatis "enucleatisque tantum virtutibus, prætermissis hiis "quæ fastidium generabant, uno parvo volumine ad-"miranda miracula clauderentur; quod et legentibus "præstaret gratiam et detrahentium auferret invi-"diam, quia inviolatam fidem non exigit multitudo "verbositatis, set integritas rationis et puritas mentis.

"Epilogus. Hæc sunt quæ de virtutibus beati "apostoli Andreæ presumpsi indignus ore, sermone "rusticus, parvus scientiâ, propalare, deprecans ejus

"misericordiam; ut sicut in illius natale[40] processi ex "matris utero, ita ipsius obtentu eruar ab inferno." The later edition adds: "Et sicut in die passionis "ejus sumpsi vitæ hujus exordium, ita me sibi pro-"prium asscire dignetur alumpnum, et quia de "majoribus meritis revocat nos pars magna facinoris, "hoc tantum temerarius presumo petere, ut cum ille "post juditium dominico corpori conformatus reful-"gebit in gloria saltem optineat pro immensis crimi-"nibus vel veniam michi non negandam."

3. Gesta Regum Anglorum.[41]

The manuscripts of this work, and there are upwards of thirty copies, exhibit evident signs of three, or perhaps four editions, the first completed in 1120, containing crude phrases, and indiscreet attacks upon distinguished individuals, which in the second edition were toned down, removed, or in some way modified, the third editions bearing marks of a more thorough performance of the author's own revision and embellishment. A few examples will serve to explain this more clearly. In a passage where the author makes mention of Glastonbury Abbey,[42] he gives a copy of the royal charter of foundation in the first edition; shortly after the dissemination of the copies of his book he was invited by the Glastonbury monks to work up their History into a readable form, and in doing so acquired further information about the abbey; on the revision for the first time he erased the Charter and passage immediately preceding it, and substituted in the vacant place more

[40] November 30.

[41] Sharpe's Life of William of Malmesbury is mainly founded upon his translation of this work.

[42] Page 51. Ed. Hardy.

comprehensive details respecting the abbey, and a remarkable anecdote of King Ina's conversion by his Queen; the third edition enabled him to complete the account by giving a reference to his just-finished work upon that abbey. The style of, and facts mentioned in this new paragraph resemble in a remarkable degree many passages in his *Gesta Pontificum.*[43] But, on the other hand, no one would venture to suppose that he would have substituted in the place of this curious morsel of history which reflected credit upon the Church, and in the place of a reference to his own just-finished account of the abbey, a copy of a charter already contained in the very book.

Again the author's account of the devotion of King Æthelstan is supplemented in a notable manner in the latest editions, which introduce a new paragraph containing a letter from Radbodus, provost of Dol, in the diocese of Tours, to the King, forwarding the relics of three Saints which Æthelstan had purchased. Another manuscript,[44] probably not in England at the time of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy's edition, bears at this very place one of William of Malmesbury's arbitrary signs, a Θ, for bringing in new matter, and for drawing attention of the copyist to some arrangement for supplementing or transposing the existing order of the archetype; possibly a rider was inserted in this (as appears in another of his manuscripts), with the additional passage upon it, but that is now wanting. Now, the most curious fact in connection with all this is, that

[43] *Lib. v., ad init.*
[44] Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 23,147.

in the autograph of the *Gesta Pontificum* a similar Θ occurs in the parallel passage relating to King Æthelstan, but in this case the addition is not upon a rider, but closely written in upon the upper and down the outer margin of the leaf. The explanation, in all probability, is that soon after preparing his second edition he visited Middleton Abbey (Milton Abbots, in Dorsetshire), not far from Malmesbury, or in some way became aware of the existence of this letter among their archives, and availed himself of the next opportunity of collating his manuscripts to insert into those before him this letter which stood in corroboration of the character he drew of the monarch.

Passing over another charter[45]—King Eadgar's to Glastonbury—which exhibits very similar treatment, and some other minor proofs of this constant revision, which seems to mark all his historical works, we come to that part which treats of the history of William II. In this the early editions were full of passages reflecting too severely upon the King's character. These were originally copied from the autograph, wherever that may be, and fortunately have been preserved by one set of manuscripts; they were then erased or modified by the author before other later copies were made. Similar instances of this practice of erasure obtain, and in a much fuller degree, in the *Gesta Pontificum* wherein whatever could be construed into an offence either against King or clergy was carefully scraped out; but there again, as before, we fortunately possess a few manuscripts copied before this mutilation of the autograph

[45] *Gesta Regum*, p. 240.

had been effected. The archetypal autograph of the *Gesta Regum* is still to be sought for, but we may venture to hope that the diligent search made for it will be ultimately crowned with success; judging like by like, we should expect to find that it would exhibit most of the peculiarities of the autograph of the *Gesta Pontificum.*

The fourth book of this work, then, treating upon William II., illustrates in a method as remarkable as it is unique, the changed views the author took, or was constrained to take, of that King's character. Throughout it, those passages of the first edition which shewed, sternly but perhaps truly, the disposition and bent of that monarch, appear in the late editions in a much more modified form; as, for instance: "Jam vero postremis annis, omni gelante studio "virtutum, vitiorum in eo [Willelmo *scilicet*] calor "efferbuit," was altered into: "Jam vero postremis "annis bonorum gelante studio incommodorum "seges succrescens incaluit;"[46] and again: "Cachin-"nante rege et dicente," is made to become: "cachin-"nantibus quibusdam et dicentibus;"[47] and: "Seque-"batur curiam effeminatorum manus et ganearum "greges, ut non temere a quodam sapiente dictum "sit; 'Curia regis Angliæ non est majestatis diver-"'sorium, sed exoletorum prostibulum.'" The concluding speech was afterwards erased and supplied in the following manner: "'Felicem fore "'Angliam si Henricus regnaret,' talia conjectans "quod is ab adolescentia obscænitates execraretur."

4. Transcript of Anselm's Works, &c.

The library of the Archbishop of Canterbury at

[46] Page 495. [47] Page 497.

Lambeth Palace possesses a copy[48] of some of Anselm's works, written for the most part by the hand of William of Malmesbury, who prefixed a triplet of hexameter verses stating this fact:

"Disputat Anselmus præsul Cantorberiensis,
"Scribit Willelmus monachus Malmesberiensis,
"Ambos gratifice complectere, lector amice."

The handwriting agrees in the minutest details, and in the most identical manner, with that in the autograph manuscript of the *Gesta Pontificum*, and assists the identification of that latter manuscript. It is probable that the author transcribed[49] this very copy for the library of his abbey, and made use of it in his lengthy account of the Sainted Archbishop in the first book of the *Gesta Pontificum*.

5. METRICAL account of Saint Elfgiva.

The author tells us[50] that he formerly wrote a poem upon St. Ælfgyfu, wife of King Edmund, who was buried at Shaftesbury. Nothing remains of this but eight lines (or twenty-four if read with another ictus), which are quoted in the same passage, and appear to be in a quasi-trochaic metre of fifteen syllables forming Leonine triplets.

6. VITA Sancti Wlstani, Episcopi et Confessoris.

The only manuscript of this work exists in the British Museum, in the same book[51] as the early copy of the *Gesta Pontificum*. A sixteenth-century hand has ascribed it to "Senatus Bravonius Monachus "Wigorniensis, an. 1170," but the author is no other than William of Malmesbury, who composed the

[48] No. 224 in the folio Catalogue.
[49] Cf. *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 431.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 187. "Rithmice quondam cecini."
[51] Claud. A. V., fo. 160 *b.*, xii. cent.

narrative at the request of Warin, the prior, deriving his information from one Colemannus, who was for fifteen years chaplain to Wlstan, Bishop of Worcester, and wrote the life and miracles of his master, in Saxon, which work is no longer extant. The prologue—here at the end of the manuscript—indicates the author's intention, as usual with him, of abbreviating without disturbing arrangements or introducing new matters. The following extract is curious: "Colemannus, monachus vester . . . . . scripsit . . . ". . anglice . . . . vitam ejusdem patris . . . . . "Hujus ego, ut voluistis, insistens, scriptis nichil "turbavi de rerum ordine, nichil corrupi de gestorum "veritate . . . . consulens in omnibus veritati ne "videretur periclitari. Otiosi enim est hominis et "suæ indulgentis facundiæ, cum gesta sufficiant, "verba nundinari, nisi forte sint aliqua, quæ propter "eximium sui splendorem brevem exigant men-"tionem." In book 3, ch. 16, the words: "Causam "minarum in Gestis Regum Anglorum exposui," sufficiently indicate the author and the date of the production. The epilogue contains a statement that the author was engaged on the work for a space of six weeks ". . . . . sex septimanas paulo minus "lucubravi. Par ergo erit; ut post hujus animæ "corporisque discidium totidem diebus pro me Deo "immoletis hostias, quot noctium ego Wlstano con-"secravi excubias." There is a curious critique upon this biography in "Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle," London, 1830, where Malmesbury is violently attacked for the character he has drawn of this Bishop.

7. LETTER to Peter, respecting Johannes Scottus.

The autograph of this letter of William of Malmesbury to his "frater amantissimus," Peter—perhaps the person of whose verses he has elsewhere[52] recorded a specimen, and in whose favour he declined the position of abbot, in 1140—exists in the British Museum;[53] it is apparently a fair draft from another autograph, and breaks off in the middle of a sentence. It has been printed by Gale,[54] and reprinted by the Abbé Migne.[55] The handwriting of this piece is indisputably similar to that of the autograph of the *Gesta Pontificum*, and must be referred to one and the same hand: space has been left for a rubric never entered, and the initial P in red is tastefully designed, perhaps by the author himself. A copy of this letter was probably in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, if we may judge from the following entry in the Catalogue of Gale's manuscripts, which that body now possesses:[56]—"Joannis Scoti "Heruligenæ Libri quinque de Naturarum Divisione. "Codex Vetus. Habetur de Auctore et Opere Mal-"mesburiensis epistola præfixa." I am informed that it is to be found no longer in the MS. referred to.

8. GESTA Pontificum Anglorum.

This work, which was finished in 1125, from numerous corrections bearing facts as late as 1140 may be presumed to have been the author's favourite production. The autograph now put before us by

[52] *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 192-193.

[53] MS. Reg., Appendix 85, fo. 25b-26.

[54] Joh. Scoti. . . . . de divisione Naturæ . . . e theatro Scheld., 1681.

[55] Patrologiæ Cursus, cxxii., 92.

[56] No. 6027 (193) of the Catalogus manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ, p. 189.

Mr. Hamilton in a readable form, and for the first time, stands alone in its class for age, and clear proof of its genuineness. The original little book, perhaps carried about by the author in his pocket for many a day, and bearing marks of very frequent use, has lain for years in the library of All Souls' College, Oxford,[57] and no one ever discovered its singular importance until the present time. At one period it was by some considered to have been a copy of the first edition, altered by a monk of later times to correspond with the second editions, and as the text was not always found to agree with that of the other manuscripts, it was rejected as a carelessly written copy, and consequently of no value to the historian for restoring the best text. But upon careful examination abundant proof appears in every page that it is the sole fountain head of all copies, and all the imperfect stopping, blunders of ignorant scribes, unsatisfactory passages and erroneous statements fade away and disappear when the testimony afforded by this little book is brought to bear upon them.

There is not a single point left in doubt; passages wherein every known copy—and the printed texts naturally as coming from an impure source—goes wrong, are here to be seen in their pristine integrity, the whole bearing signs of innumerable collations, corrections, alterations, additions, interlinings, and transpositions. Some passages have been inserted after all copies had been made, or eluded the eyes of all copyists, as they only occur in the autograph manuscripts. The author used some peculiar and arbitrary methods of indicating to the scribe a change to be made when

[57] No. 172.

a copy was being prepared. To indicate transpositions the letters of the alphabet were placed over the original sentence, showing by their order the intended transposition of the sentence.[58] Again, a *Π* or *Θ* was employed to show that additional matter on the margin was to enter at the place where a corresponding letter was placed, these signs were also brought into operation when it was necessary to arrange a series of sentences in a new order. Letters were used to indicate single transpositions,[59] as, "Aldredus archiepiscopus Roma veniens," for "Roma "veniens Aldredus archiepiscopus." A section or paragraph was also used; occasionally inverted commas, for slight alterations.

It may be argued by a sceptic that if a monk of the twelfth century had taken this book in its first stage, a copy of the first edition, such an one as the *B.* (or Claudius C.V.), and erased and corrected it so as to correspond with the later class *D.*, that then the amended book would and does represent to our view a work answering in all points to an autograph manuscript. But this autograph manuscript does this and more, for the suppositious book would contain—as having been originally only a copy—surely some departures from grammar and sense; surely some points left by the scribe or the corrector in an unsatisfactory condition, owing either to their own want of information, to an indistinctness of the archetype or original, to the accidental skipping of a line, or to any other way by which errors find their way into copies; surely some slight indication remaining by

[58] *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 238, 333.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

which we could safely infer that such a manuscript was a copy, and not an original: but nothing of this kind occurs in the Oxford manuscript;—there are, it must be said, certain clerical errors, orthographical mistakes and slight blemishes, but nothing beyond the licence we are bound to allow to the rapid pen of a ready writer, teeming with thought, and seeking to express his ideas in a language not his own. All these, however, on subsequent revision have been perceived and set right, with the exception of a very few.

On the other hand, where we find in this autograph a rubbed word, a passage written in a very small hand and indistinctly crowded, a minute word interlined, an obscure or obliterated contraction, a word or letter admitting distinctly opposite interpretations, there we are sure to find most of the other manuscripts, and speaking generally all, going wrong, and endeavouring to correct their errors by departing still further from the true text. Other secondary copies, that is, copies made from copies, perpetuating these mistakes, adding new words, reforming sentences, omitting some entirely, and evincing in various ways their inability to render the exact passage of the original. The supposititious copy would not contain such a passage as, "Fateor inbecillitatem "meam, nolo spe pugnare," undoubtedly in the same hand as the body of the manuscript (a mournful admission written by the author upon a space now blank, which once contained a long passage reflecting upon the horrid vices of the court and the country); nor contain indication of folios cut entirely away from the book, for in a later copy there would be no means of supplying the small guard still left,

and no copyist would think of inserting a similar guard in his transcript for the only reason that one existed in the manuscript he was copying. If we examine carefully the erased passages we are immediately struck with the reason of their suppression. The author commenced his work with an earnest and praiseworthy intention of describing, without bias or partiality, such historical facts as had come to his knowledge touching the lives of the great men moving in the panorama of his times. In carrying this out, he perpetuated a series of remarkable anecdotes of a personal nature, many of them reflecting upon the rapacity, gluttony, luxury, and incapacity of the early prelates of the Church, upon the venality of the Court of Rome, upon the profligacy of the Court of England, upon the wantonness, unbridled libertinism and savage devilry of some of the Kings, more especially William II., all which undoubtedly interested in a very high degree the readers of his work—that is, the religious orders—and found a responsive call prepared in the hearts of a devout set, fervently enraged with the injuries inflicted upon the Church body, principally the monastic bodies, by a long series of unjust appropriations of revenue, and of personal insults inflicted on the faithful members.

But in course of time, when the author's views had changed with his position in the abbey; when his increased connection with the great and powerful had rendered him more lenient to their shortcomings; when, perhaps, a hint as to the disfavour with which his tales had been received in high quarters had reached him; and, lastly, when his own promotion and worldly

welfare probably depended upon the patronage of some bishop or high functionary—(as, for instance, we have already seen how intimate his friendship was with a prominent member of the state, Robert, Earl of Gloucester)—to whom anything reflecting odium upon a late member of Church or Court would be regarded in the light of a personal attack, he effected in his autograph manuscript (not only of the *Gesta Pontificum*, but of the *Gesta Regum*), and by so doing effected for every future copy of them a complete erasure and scraping out of every passage calculated to offend the most fastidious ear, and yet so fitted together the remaining portions of his writings by judiciously adapting and modifying the sentences newly brought together, that the want of something between is not felt by any one reading from the latest edition: achieving, as it were, a softening and toning down of the colours in which he had at first so sternly depicted his strictures upon an effete and effeminate priesthood, a luxurious and ungodly court, and a land then crying loudly for a divine retribution due to its ripeness in all manner of iniquity.

It is a remarkable fact, and one which forcibly illustrates the terrorism exercised over the monastery by the usurper Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, as well as our author's possible reticence in other cases which he felt could not be ameliorated by ventilation, and, therefore, more wisely suppressed, that although in one or two solitary instances he alludes to abbot Edulf's expulsion by the bishop, yet he entirely omits direct mention of Edulf's name in his account of the Abbots of Malmesbury, notwithstanding

that the unjust conduct of Roger in ousting the abbot and removing the see from Salisbury to the abbey, took place six or seven years before the date given by William of Malmesbury to the completion of this work, when the abbey was smarting under the daily increasing tyranny of a secular system enunciated by the bishop, a system exhibiting many vital points of difference when compared with that in use with the regular monastic rule of St. Benedict, hitherto practised in the abbey. The author doubtless felt constrained to be silent, though his heart must have been peculiarly susceptible to the griefs of his society, of which at this time he was one of the higher officers. The position he held as librarian, coupled with the archæological, literary, judicial, and historical knowledge he has shown us he possessed, must have placed the actions of the Bishop before him in a far stronger and more odious light, in so far as he felt they could not be justified by any course of reasoning, than before any other member of the monastery.

The copies of the last edition are far more numerous than those of the first: and in order to convey some idea of the suppressed portions, a selection of the more important passages contained only in the first edition will be found at the end of this paper, printed in an English translation for the first time, as they tell of historical facts, not as yet known but to few, and being contemporary and undoubtedly authentic, deserve and demand a place in all future histories of the period they represent.

9. De Vita Sancti Dunstani Archiepiscopi.

The only copy of this work exists in the Bodleian

Library,[60] and was made in the fifteenth century. The book has never been printed, but has been for some years in course of preparation by the Rev. J. Green, for the *Chronicles and Memorials* under the Master of the Rolls. The author prepared this life at the desire of the monks of Glastonbury, for whom he had already prepared other works, as will appear shortly. The latter part of this copy is said to have been transcribed by Hearne, but the archetype has never yet been discovered. It is dedicated to Henry, the Abbot of Glastonbury who held that appointment from 1126 to 1171, and was composed very shortly after the accession of this abbot, and in a style not so carefully elaborated as his greater works. The prologue to each of the two books is replete with evidence bearing upon the scrupulous exactness to which he adhered in preparing the account, and affords an additional proof that he did not tamper with any historical truths, nor fill out his work with borrowed extracts, though he seems to hint in the concluding sentence of the first that he had been accused of this failing. The following colophon occurs:

"Hactenus exscripsi tanti miracula patris,
"Scribat et ipse sui me precor esse gregis."

10. De Vita Sancti Patritii.

William of Malmesbury states in his account of Glastonbury that he composed a Life of St. Patrick at the desire of the monks of that abbey. No copy of this work is now extant, but Leland[61] has left a few notes respecting it. "Ex primo Libro Gulielmi

[60] Rawlinson, Miscell. MS., 263, vell. 8vo.
[61] Collect. iii., 272–276. Tanner, Bibl., 578–580.

"Meldunensis quem de Vita S. Patritii ad monachos "Glessoburgenses scripsit. Hunc librum inveni apud "canonicos Christicolas de Twinham sive Medim-"nenses in provincia Avoniæ littoralis. Gul. Meld. "frequenter citat librum Patritii de confessione in "quo res a se gestas et vitam suam scripsit." At the end of the extracts, he says, "Pollicetur hic Guliel-"mus scripturum se de reditu Patritii in Britanniam. "Sed hactenus in nullo exemplari de reditu scriptum "aliquid vidi, nescio an quod ille opus forsan imper-"fectum reliquerit, an quod codices in quos incidi, "mutili fuerint, quorum duos Glessoburgi inveni, ubi "Patritium prædicant monachi sepultum esse."

11. Vita Sancti Benigni,

Or "Miracula Venerabilis Benigni," is mentioned in the same passage as the Life of St. Patrick, and like that work is no longer extant. Two manuscript lives[62] of St. Benignus exist, but the diversity of style and want of sufficient evidence to indicate the author prevents any satisfactory conclusion being arrived at, as to their connection with William of Malmesbury. We are informed by William of Malmesbury that this and the other works having reference to the History of Glastonbury were revised by the monks of that abbey with a view to the prevention of errors, and the removal of any statement that was not strictly true. In addition to his mention of this work in the above passage, the following also occurs in the body of the account of Glastonbury:—"Ad gloriam sane "temporum Turstini pertinet beatissimi Benigni

[62] Brit. Mus., MS. Cott., Tiberius, E. 1, f. 271, xii. cent. MS. Bodl. Tanner, 15, f. 61, xv. cent.

"translatio, quam virtutibus non incelebrem alias "stilus noster expedivit."[63]

12. Passio Sancti Indrahti Martyris, et Sociorum ejus,

Written also at the request of the monks of Glastonbury, who possessed his relics. It is alluded to in Malmesbury's preface to the history of that abbey. One manuscript alone is known to exist,[64] and is of the thirteenth century. "The author is careful to let the reader know that he has inserted nothing but what he found in an English account of their martyrdom."[65] The Life was abridged at an early period, and three copies of it exist in this form.[66] The following epilogue is very curious: "Finem dicendi hic, patres et domini, constituto "(*sic*), non quod alia non sunt, quæ de hujus mar- "tiris sociorumve ejus actis possint referri mirabili- "bus, sed ne de re tam antiqua, et ob hoc quam "plurimum incerta, videar non de anglica lingua in "latina eorum acta vertisse, sed [quæ] cordi advenere "prorsus scriptitasse. Ob hoc itaque vitans hujus "dictionis prolixitatem, statui non alia scribere quam "quæ in exemplar anglicum valui reperire."

13. De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiæ.

One manuscript copy of this work, transcribed in the twelfth century, and about seven or eight late copies exist. It has been printed by Gale, Hearne, and Migne, but the printed texts are in an unsatis-

[63] Migne, clxxxix., 1729.

[64] MS. Bodl., Digby, 112, f. 95. Passio S. Indracti (per Guilelmum Malmesberiensem).

[65] Hardy's Catalogue of Brit. Hist., i. 339.

[66] Brit. Mus., MS. Cott., Tiberius, E. 1, f. 124 b.; Bodl., Tanner, 15; Bodl. 240, p. 598.

factory state, and no manuscript of undoubted authenticity is extant. In the prologue, which is addressed to Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester (from 1129 to 1171), the following passages illustrating the author's life and works occur: "Natura "sane hunc quibusdam ingeneravit animum, ut quam- "vis utraque sciant necessaria, magis tamen exem- "plorum quam adhortationum eos prolectet auditus. "Et alienigenarum quidem gestis præ sanctitatis as- "surgunt reverentia, sed alacriori capiuntur dulcedine, "si alicujus sancti, qui compatriota fuerit, vita per- "ducatur in medium, in qua sicut e speculo, conspi- "cuum, ut ita dicam, sit vivum religionis simulacrum. "Accedit enim jucundæ relationi propinquitas, ne "aliquis desperet a se per Dei gratiam fieri posse, quod "audit ab alio de proximo factum fuisse. Unde, "sicut æstimo, non contempnendæ stilum dedi operæ, "qui Beati Dunstani . . . . vitam labore meo æternæ "mandavi memoriæ, duosque libros de hoc, volenti- "bus Glastoniæ fratribus, filiis vestris, dominis et "sociis meis, dudum integra rerum veritate absolvi. "Verumtamen, ne quid sedulitatis meæ desit officio, "ejusdem ecclesiæ vestræ rudimentum et processum "in hujus libri auspicio 'repetens ab origine pan- "'dam.' . . . . . Quapropter in spem nonnichil "animus meus accrescit hoc scriptum fortasse sanc- "tum procurasse, ut alumpni occasione digeratur "dignitas nutriculæ."

"Illos ego libellos, sed et Vitam beati Patritii, "Miracula venerabilis Benigni, Passionem martiris "Indrahti, qui simili curâ procuderam, jampridem "in eorum permisi versari manibus, ut, si quid citra

"rationem dictum esset, corrigeretur pro tempore. "Illi vero, propensiori consilio diu scripta trutinan- "tes, omni me liberaverunt culparum nævo, nichil "contuitu religionis aut dantes offensæ aut defer- "entes gratiæ."

14. CHRONICA.

The only notice we possess of this work is supplied by the author in his prologue to the *Historia Novella.* The scope of the work is indicated in the same passage, which is: "Pleraque gestorum præcellentis "memoriæ patris vestri stilo apponere non neglexi, "et in quinto libro regalium actuum, et in tribus "libellis quibus Chronica dedi vocabulum."[67] The king here alluded to is Henry I., father of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, to whom the author is here writing. Certain indications would here favour the belief that the first portion of the manuscript 436 of the Lansdowne Collection in the British Museum, is a fragment of this composition, copied late in the thirteenth century. Tanner writes as if he had seen the work in question.

15. HISTORIA Novella,

Comprised in three books, undertaken by the desire of the author's noble friend Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I. It is thought to have been commenced some time after that monarch's death, and to have been continued onwards as events arose. The space of time it deals with extends from 1126 to 1142, where it ends abruptly with a promise of a speedy continuation. Of this piece Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy states there are clear traces of at least

[67] *Ed.* Hardy, ii., 687.

two editions.[68] In some manuscripts this work is called the sixth book of the *Gesta Regum*, but the author, in the passage quoted above, mentions his *Chronica* as an intervening work.[69]

16. Explanatio Lamentationum Hieremiæ.

This remarkable work is sometimes mentioned as *Expositio Threnorum Jeremiæ*, and was abridged by William of Malmesbury from the similar work by Paschasius Radbertus. The autograph manuscript, lately discovered among the Cottonian manuscripts in the British Museum, is very much burnt and defective at the commencement. At folio 44 of this book, the following valuable evidence respecting the author has been noted down shortly after 1270, by the same monk of Malmesbury who made marginal notes upon the autograph of the *Gesta Pontificum*. "§ Iste Willelmus monachus Meldu-
"nensis, monachus fuit Malmesburiæ, sic enim voca-
"batur quondam locus ille a quodam Meldone
"solitario, qui religiosus Christianus olim illum
"prius inhabitavit; cujus crux lapidea in medio
"claustri stetit ad predictam solitarii memoriam,
"sicut per inquisitionem comperit frater Walterus
"de Clive, prior hujus loci, Anno Domini MCC.
"septuagisimo. § Hoc etiam innuit ipse idem in
"principio prologi hujus operis, ubi mentionem facit
"de hystoriis anglicanis, quas quondam juvenis edidit.
"§ Quod etiam angli . . . . . ipse in
"quarto hujus operis libro, exponens istum textum
"'Sed et lamiæ nudaverunt mammam,' loquens de

[68] *Catalogue of Brit. Hist.*, ii. 165, 215.
[69] *Gesta Regum*. *Ed.* Hardy, ii. 687.

"natura strutionis, qualem se vidisse coram rege "....." The concluding portion is unfortunately so burnt that it cannot be altogether deciphered, but the passage referred to is as follows: "Ista autem strutio avis est membrorum grandium, "pennas quidem habens, sed volatu carens. Qualem "in Anglia vidimus tempore Henrici Regis extra-"neorum monstrorum appetentissimus," standing in explanation of the text "Filia populi mei, etc."

At the end of the first book the author records the pleasure and solace he has experienced during the time he was engaged upon the work. The only perfect copy known to be extant formerly belonged to St. Mary's, Worcester, and is now in the Bodleian Library,[70] and contains the prologue, which, as it has never been printed before, is here inserted to show the statements of the author that the labour was undertaken at the wish of a "frater amantissimus," who complained of his having already some time ceased to write history. Notices also are given, whereby it appears that the author's fortunes are not so flourishing as they have been, and that he himself was just forty years of age when composing the preface:—

"SEPE MONVISTI, ut stilum diu feriatum ocii uagina "exuerem; et necessariis rebus scribendis applicarem. "Pareo iniunctis frater amantissime; excusata breui-"tate operis quam mihi semper amicam familiarem-"que non nescis. Pareo inquam et eo promptius; "quod adhortatio tua, et ad mores tuos facit, et meo "proposito non dissentit. Olim enim cum historias

[70] No. 868.

"lusi; uiridioribus annis rerumque læticiæ congrue-
"bat rerum iocunditas. Nunc ætas progressior et
"fortuna deterior aliud dicendi genus expostulant.
"Id erit precipuum; quod nos dehortari a seculo,
"quod ad deum possit accendere. Satis superque
"nobis usque modo uiximus a modo factori nostro
"uiuamus. Par est illi non negare gratiam; qui
"citra uindictam acriorem, in tot annos indulsit
"uitam. Quadragenarius sum hodie, admouique
"pedem medietatem metæ, quam diuinus psalmista
"ponit hominum uitæ dicens: Dies annorum nos-
"trorum in ipsis septuaginta anni, si autem in po-
"tentibus octoginta anni; et amplius eorum labor et
"dolor. (Ps. lxxxix. 10.) Ingratus ero, si non illi
"reddam dimidium, uel saltem dimidii dimidium, a
"quo accepi totum. Ex omni igitur materiarum copia
"elegisti mihi lamentationes ieremiæ prophetæ; in
"quibus exponendis esset et gratia compunctionis
"uberior, et flamma diuini amoris incitacior. Sed cum
"inopis sensus conscius, altum earum pelagus ingredi
"pauitarem; uix ab aliquo priorum nodatum adeo ut
"nec beatissimus Ieronimus eas attigerit, qui ceteros
"omnes prophetas exposuit; paschasium R. earum
"expositorem obiecisti, petens ut eum tibi abbre-
"uiarem. Est enim ille sicut pietate sensuum in-
"teger, et nulli secundus; ita quodam lepore ut
"putabat uerborum affectato, parum iocundus. Qua
"propter desideras ex sensibus decerpi flosculos meis
"uerbis; ne quis sermonum asperitate offensus, fructu
"utilitatis excidat. Reuera enim paucarum senten-
"tiarum defloratio quamlibet somnolenti inuitat stu-
"dium, quamlibet fastidiosi deprecatur et euadit

"tedium. Huic ergo muneri me non inparem exis-
"timans; amicitiæ tuæ morem gero, cui quo plus
"soluo, plus debeo. Auaro est tenatior, qui amico
"non reddit fenus uerborum; cui se magnarum gra-
"tiarum recordatur obnoxium."

17. De Serie Evangelistarum.

Leland[71] asserts that this work was composed by William of Malmesbury, "nullo non genere car-
"minis," and contained fifteen books. Nothing remains of it, as far as is known at present.

18. Itinerarium Johannis Abbatis Malmesburiensis.

This also is no longer extant, but a copy is said to have existed in Bale's Library. The abbot John succeeded to Edulf's vacancy in 1139, and was a friend of the author, to whom indeed the post had been offered before John was appointed. Leland[72] preserved a few extracts, and gives some account of this book, which commenced with the words: "Princi-
"pium et processum Malmesburi." "Ex prologo
"itinerarii quod scripsit Gul. Meldunensis de labo-
"riosa Joannis abbatis Meldun: profectione versus
"Romam. Jam vero in Novella Historia diligenter
"ad hoc nostra vigilavit oratio. . . . . Ingenuarum
"mentium, nisi me nimius mei amor fallit, experi-
"mento, ut socio nostro cederemus in abbatia sus-
"cipienda, qua levi negotio plusquam semel potiri
"potuissemus. . ." "Gul. Meldun: abbatis nomen
"neglexit . . . Gul. Meldun: non fuit in hoc itinere
"comes Joannis abbatis, sed quidam Petrus, natione

[71] *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*, i. 196.
[72] *Collectanea*, iii. 272.

"Biturix, monachus ejusdem cænobii, et post Joan-
"nem abbas, a quo Gul: instructus itinerarium scrip-
"sit, multis plane rebus memorabilibus refertum."

19. ABBREVIATIO Amalarii de Divinis Officiis.

Three examples[73] of this compilation exist. In the prologue, which has been printed by Allix, and reprinted by Migne, ample evidence is given respecting his manner of life and study of history, as well as of his acquaintance with the Church Books of his days. The Rodbert, to whom he dedicates his work, is no other than his friend the Earl of Gloucester, to whom the *Gesta Regum* and *Historia Novella* had been inscribed. This incident of the warrior asking the monk to simplify the principal text book of church discipline is as interesting as it is natural. We may gather from the opening sentence that the author was busily engaged on his historical works "Incipit præfacio Willelmi in abbreviatione Amalarii. "In historicis nos narrationibus occupatos detorsit a "proposito tua, Rodberte, voluntas. Nuper enim "cum in bibliotheca nostra sederemus, et quisque pro "suo studio libros evolveret, impegisti in Amalarium "de Ecclesiastis Officiis. Cujus cum materiam ex "primâ statim tituli fronte cognosceris, amplexus es "occasionem qua rudimenta novæ professionis ani-"mares. Sed quia confestim animi tui alacritatem "turbavit testimoniorum perplexitas et sermonum "asperitas, rogasti ut eum abbreviarem. Ego autem ". . . . munus injunctum non aspernanter accepi . . ." The following epilogue concludes the work: "Videor

[73] MS. Lambeth Palace, No. 363, fo. 38, and No. 380, fo. 171. MS. Coll. Omn. Anim. Oxon., No. xxxviii., fo. 123, xii. cent.

" michi, amice, satisfecisse jussioni tuæ ut Amalarium
" breviarem. Si excidi voto per imperitiam, dabis
" veniam. Si quid commode et apposite dixi, referes
" gratias patri hominum, a quo est largitio omnium
" bonorum. . . . . ."

20. (i.) De Dictis et factis memorabilibus Philosophorum.

(ii.) Cassiodorus: De Ortographia.

(iii.) Caper: De eadem.

(iv.) Ars Agretii.

(v.) Albinus: De Ortographia.

(vi.) Beda: De eadem.

These six works, the first composed, the others abbreviated by William of Malmesbury, exist in one manuscript only,[74] of which the commencing portion is lost, and with it the prologue, which undoubtedly would have given some curious notices respecting the author; nevertheless, what remains of this nature is here printed for the first time, and tends to illustrate his extreme love of accuracy, and his scholarly way of condensing prolix works.

At the end of the work of Cassiodorus the author writes: " Valete fratres, atque in orationibus vestris
" mei esse memores dignamini, qui vos inter cetera
" de orthographiæ virtute, et de distinctione ponenda,
" quæ nimis preciosa cognoscitur, sub brevitate com-
" monui, et quemadmodum scripturæ divinæ intelligi
" debeant, copiosissime legenda properavi. Quatinus
" sicut ego vos ab imperitorum numero sequestratos
" esse volui, ita vos virtus divina non patiatur cum
" nequissimis penali societate conjungi." At the

[74] Brit. Mus., MS. Harl., 3969, xiv. cent.

end of the collection the following epilogue occurs: "Ego Guillelmus Malmesberiensis qui hos "orthographos hic descripsi, ita describendos pu- "tavi, ut antiquiores ex integro ponerem, id est, "Cassiodorum, Caprum, Agroetium, quantum ex cor- "ruptissimo exemplari excerpere potui. Bedam "autem non totum posui, sed illa quæ ante in "ceteris auctoribus scripseram, et, quæ ipse in suo "opere compilaverat, prætermisi, inutilem laborem "sciens esse unum dictum bis in eodem volumine "repeti. Quæ vero vel ex se vel ex aliis supra- "nominatis auctoribus dixit, ex integro scripsi. Qui "reliquis commodius in hoc elaboravit, quia quod illi "confuse fecerant, ipse per alphabetum disposuit. "Eum secutus Albinus aliquantis post eum annis in "Eboraco natus est et altus, sed a Karolo Magno "imperatore ascitus et ab eo in magistrum adoptatus, "Bedam in orthographia sua defloravit, nichil ex se "aditiens. Ideo quæ in Albino repperi a Beda "sumpta in Beda dimisi. Hæc iccirco dico, ne pos- "teri nostri, si hos auctores integros habuerint, judi- "cent me vel incuriosum si bis aliqua scripserim cum "ea suit vilissima, vel invidum si aliqua prætermi- "serim cum ea litteratis omnibus in promptu sint."

21. A Collection of Historical and Judicial works, mostly epitomized, exists in the Bodleian Library,[75] the handwriting, general appearance, and intrinsic evidence of which mark out William of Malmesbury as the compiler and actual writer of the book. This valuable manuscript, which is here stated for the first time to be the undoubted autograph of our author,

[75] Arch. Selden, B. 16 (32), (No. 3362 of folio Catalogue of 1698.)

is a small thick folio, written in a close, upright, and clear hand, with double columns and illuminated initials, green, red, and blue, without adornments. The hand is unmistakably identical with that of the *Opera Anselmi* and *Gesta Pontificum* already noticed. The manuscript affords throughout numerous examples of the peculiar methods of correction, by erasure, transpositions, interlineations, and rescription of obscure passages, as employed by the author so frequently in his other autographs: here as there, the letters of the alphabet are employed to indicate changes in the sequence of words or sentences, and the Greek letters Π and Θ for introducing new matter from the margin (in one instance fourteen lines are thus marked for insertion). The contents of the book are as follow:—

(i.) Daretis Phrygii Historia de excidio Trojæ, cum prologo Cornelii Nepotis ad Crispum Sallustium. Incipit: Ex libro primo Isidori . . . .

(ii.) Excerptum de Libris Catonis de Originibus.

(iii.) Excerptum ex Justino de rebus Romanorum.

(iv.) Paulus Orosius Presbiteri, de miseris mundi, contra Paganos ad B. Augustinum.

These four articles are in William of Malmesbury's handwriting.

(v.) Pauli Eutropii de Gestis Romanorum libri decem, cum additionibus Pauli Casinensis monachi.

(vi.) Jordanis episcopi Ravennatis Liber abbreviationis de Gestis Romanorum ad Vigilium.

In the fifth and sixth articles the handwriting of the body of the subjects is not the same, but of the same period: these have been very copiously corrected by

the hand of Malmesbury himself, who has also added a prologue to the fifth article, commencing with the words VOX WILLELMI in red capitals, having a line drawn through them. "Sequentes decem libros de "Gestis Romanorum Eutropius ad Valentem Impera-"torem edidit, quibus quia Paulus montis Cassinensis "monachus multa adjecit, curæ nobis fuit nomina "eorum separatim ponere, ut quid a quo dictum sit "lector possit intelligere. Sequentes etiam quinque "libros usque ad Justinianum idem Paulus ex pluri-"bus auctoribus et maxime Jordane contexuit, sicut "in margine annotare curavimus; Paulo autem sicut "Orosium preposuimus, ita Jordanem subjunximus, "ut ex utroque sane habeat lector integros quos iste "putavit deflorandos. A Justiniano autem usque ad "Ludovicum collegit Haimo monachus Floriacensis."

(vii.) "Incipit adbreviatio Willelmi," in red capitals at the bottom of a folio in William of Malmesbury's handwriting, which recommences here and runs on throughout the remainder of the work. "Willelmi (cujusdam, Catal. MSS. Angl. et Hibern, 1697), Adbreviatio de Gestis imperatorum ex Historia Haimonis abbatis Floriacensis collecta." At the end of this article the abbreviator has added: "Nunc "quia quicquid de principibus Italiæ et Romæ potui-"mus invenire curavimus non omittere, congruum "videtur leges Romanorum apponere, non eas quas "Justinianus fecit, esset enim hoc ingentis operis et "laboris, sed eas quas Theodosius minor, filius Ar-"chadii, a temporibus Constantini usque ad suum "sub titulo uniuscujusque imperatoris collegit." After the list of works, he adds: "Sed quia quæ-

"dam sunt in legibus imperatorum obscura ad "plenum intellectum, apposuimus libros institu- "tionum Gaii et Pauli jurisconsultorum."

(viii.) Codex Theodosianus per epistolam connexus supradictæ historiæ.

(ix.) Novellæ constitutiones Theodosii ad Valentinianum Imperatorem occidentis.

(x.) Valentiniani Novellarum legum liber.

(xi.) D. Marciani Novell. legum liber.

(xii.) Majoriani Imp. leges.

(xiii.) Severi Imp. leges.

(xiv.) Anthemii leges.

(xv.) Institutiones Gaii in Epitomen redactæ.

(xvi.) Julii Pauli Institutionum liber quinque: una cum Arriani explicationibus.

In the library of Balliol College[76] there is a collection of transcripts by William of Malmesbury, very similar to the foregoing, and thus described in the Rev. O. Coxe's Catalogue:—

"(i.) Eutropius; Historia Romana, &c., libri xvi. "Omnes in unum corpus redacti et glossis marginali- "bus prologoque adaucti per Gulielmum monachum "Malmesburiensem.

"(ii.) Jordanis, sive Jornandis Ep. Ravennatis de "Gestis Romanorum ad Vigilium, abbreviationis liber, "cum notis marginalibus a Will. Malmesburiensi "confectis.

"(iii.) Willelmi Malmesburiensis abbreviatio ex "gestis Haimonis de Imperatoribus, cum prologo et "notis marginalibus.

"(iv.) Pauli Orosii Presbiteri de Ormesta mundi "libri septem, cum prologo notisque marginalibus."

[76] No. 125, fo. 206, xv. cent.

The fact of William of Malmesbury's abbreviating such historical works as these testifies to the extent of his reading and his laudable endeavour to present history in a pleasing and concise form to those who shrunk either by reason of incapacity or want of time from plodding through long works and protracted compositions. He shows a steady purpose of initiating the readers of his abbey and of other such into the duties and requirements of their religious and learned profession, without obliging them to have recourse to the original authorities only too often conflicting in their testimony upon material points, and requiring some such critical judgment as his to unravel the apparent contradictions of their statements.

22. MARGINAL notes to Lactantius and Tertullian.

The following passage occurs in the Catalogue of Manuscripts belonging to Balliol College:—

"No. 79, xv. century. (i.) C. F. Lactantii Opera "varia, scilicet Institutionum Divinarum adversus "gentes libri septem;—De Ira Dei;—De Opificio "Dei.

"(ii.) Tertulliani Apologeticum de Ignorantia "Jhesu Christi. Hujus ut et superiorum librorum "margines notis passim illustratæ sint, contenta in "adverso textu exhibentibus, quorum auctorem "censet Langbainus fuisse Gulielmum Malmes-"buriensem . . . . ".

23. There exist throughout the *Gesta Pontificum* notices which tend to show that William of Malmesbury was collecting and compiling the lives of the English Saints; in one passage he says he is anxious

to record acts of Saints not generally known,[77] in another that he will write the lives of St. Merewinna and St. Elfleda, if he should gather any particulars about them ;[78] again, that he would write an account of St. Samson, archbishop of Dol, but his doings are well known, and he himself is busy upon the miracles of native Saints, "indigenarum Sanctorum miraculis "scribendis occupatas manus habeo;"[79] then again, that he is desirous of writing upon the English Saints, but is hindered by want of materials and lack of ability,[80] for he owes much to the Saints of his country.[81] We see, therefore, that it was doubtless his intention to compile a kind of *Acta Sanctorum*, but whether it was ever accomplished or not, cannot well be determined at this time; there exists, nevertheless, in the British Museum[82] a copy, made in the fourteenth century, of a series of Lives of Saints, all prior to the time of our author, and though some late additions have been inserted, the style and treatment would appear to indicate William of Malmesbury as the originator of the work. Among other lives, those of the two Sainted Virgins Merewinna and Elfleda will be found, and many of the chapters consist of extracts from Malmesbury's works. Unfortunately the book is imperfect, and wants both commencement and finishing portion, so that any hint the prologue or epilogue might have contained respecting the compiler of the manuscript is now lost to investigation. These lives are preceded by a

[77] *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 20, 21.
[78] *Ibid*, p. 175.
[79] *Ibid*, p. 186.
[80] *Ibid*, pp. 254, 277.
[81] *Ibid*, p. 437.
[82] MS. Lansd., 436.

fragment of a Chronicle which has been by some, but I think with hardly sufficient reason, considered to be part of William of Malmesbury's *Chronica*, already mentioned as lost to us.

Bale[83] also attributes the following works to our author:—

GENEALOGIA Henrici Secundi.

DE GENTE Vuydenorum.

DE VIRTUTIBUS Sanctorum.

SERMONES et Epistolas atque alia plura.

Of these the first is a small portion of what appears to be a dedication of the *Gesta Pontificum*, or some other work, to Henry I., and only exists in the early B transcript of that book,[84] and is of the latter half of the twelfth century. It seems to have been written on the fly leaf at the end of the abbreviated life of St. Aldhelm. The other titles are not known to be extant, but Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy considers them to be portions of other works already noticed.

[83] *Ed.* Basil. 1577, p. 187.

[84] Brit. Mus., MS. Cott. Claudius, A.V., fo. 133.

TRANSLATION OF SELECTED PASSAGES OF THE *GESTA PONTIFICUM*, AFTERWARDS ERASED.

1. There is one trait in King William II.'s character which should rightly appear magnificent, that he, who had the power to effect everything he wished, chose rather to evade a great many things by jesting, and turning them into jokes, contrary to the real judgment of his mind.

Although no consideration of God, no sanctity of any man soever, could stem the torrent of his waywardness, yet he would avoid acting upon what was said to him, either by swelling with anger, or by treating the matter with what seemed to him to be facetiousness, as is very generally known in these days.

For instance, when the bishops proposed that he should give permission for a general prayer throughout the kingdom, to prevail on God that he would deign to put it into his heart to appoint a shepherd for the succour of the mother church, he replied, full of play, and dissembling his choler with a smile: "Pray as ye please, I for my part shall do as I please, for nobody's praying shall ever thwart my wishes." pp. 89, 90.

2. But the King did not long preserve the integrity of his faith, for on the very day of Anselm's first entry into his archiepiscopate, he sent one Rannulf to dispute with him respecting the privileges belonging to the church. Anselm's mind was disturbed by this unwonted proceeding, and he not only foresaw, but foretold that many things would not turn out prosperously for him while he occupied that honourable post. For the King kept on hunting out

uarrels with him and with every one, and getting up unfounded charges, whereby he might amass money; being as cruel in his extortions as he was lavish in wasting his illgotten wealth. At one time he would show the claws of the Harpies, at another the luxury of Cleopatra, but at every time and everywhere his utter recklessness was made manifest. If, for instance, any one of his own accord offered to make him a present, unless the amount offered agreed with what he had expected to receive, he would forthwith put the offerer into such a fright with his sidelong glances that he would at last bring the poor man to give him whatever he chose to demand. By such duplicity of conduct, he procured for himself much dissatisfaction with the others, but Anselm conceived an idea of turning this very trait in the King's character to his own advantage, and offered to give him fifty pounds, hoping that the affairs of the Church would be more benefited if he obtained a safer footing at court. The King, according to his wont, after being mollified with the promise of the gift, in reply, upbraided him with the smallness of it, and refused to be persuaded by Anselm, who promised that if he received this graciously he should receive a larger offering whenever the liberality of his bishops might enable him to make it; the king, effecting nothing by his slavish importunity, while the archbishop proceeded immediately to lay out, for the benefit of the poor, the money that had been thrust back upon him, being rather overjoyed, and somewhat softening his religious rigour with a pleasant smile, because, through this repulse God had preserved the integrity of his fame. And indeed, as there is nothing that cannot be depreciated by words, however well it may have been done in fact, so this would have been assuredly quoted as an example of one of Anselm's bad actions, had he given the money, for men would have asserted that simony had instigated him to do what he had wished to be done out of a real desire of strengthening God's cause. Henceforth William conceived, and for the whole of the time ensuing

cherished a perpetual discord against him; and was glad that he was able to find some means whereby he might dispirit Anselm's confidence, and prevent him from exercising his pontifical authority in the repressing of vice. And further, when he amicably proposed to the King, who was on the point of going abroad, that permission should be given for Councils to be celebrated, abbots appointed to vacant abbeys, and horrible crime repressed by a royal edict, the King flatly refused everything, and asserted that he had tried all he could to bring great contempt upon him in daring to say to him what Lanfranc had never presumed to mention to his royal father; that as to Councils he would have them celebrated when he thought fit, and only those subjects which he proposed, discussed by the Council; that the abbeys were his own, and he would do as he chose with them; and to sum up all, he would do whatever came into his head, in respect of his vills. Then it was that Anselm discovered from the offended spirit of the King's actions, that he was stretching forth his hands in vain against a torrent, and sent messengers to beg him either to receive him graciously again into friendship, or to state plainly the nature of his offence; for he would not refuse to undergo judgment according to the heinousness of his fault, provided that the reverence due to his rank were not attacked. The answer he received was that the King had nothing to accuse him of, and yet would not receive him again into his favour, for he would not hear him; whereat Anselm, perceiving how it was likely to turn out, took counsel with the bishops about him, and elicited from their reply the hidden mystery of what was said. That the royal mind could be appeased by money, would he offer him again the same sum or a greater one than he had yet offered. Then the archbishop shakes his head at their words, unworthy of them, and exclaims: "God forbid that I obtain my lord's grace by "purchase, as though I thought the excellence of such "great majesty were to be procured for the price of a thing

"so trashy and perishable. For were I to conceive that he "were willing to sell it, I should be dishonouring my lord, "to whom I owe faith and honour, by the bare thought of "such baseness. Therefore I will not even give him what "I offered him before, because it has been laid out to better "uses, nor anything else, because I do not wish to purchase "the friendship of one man by plundering my own men. "Perhaps also he might grow accustomed to inventing "causes for being angry, if he succeeded on this occasion, "and little by little consume the slender fortunes of the "country people by the costly way required to pacify him." These remarks were carried to the ears of the King in an exaggerated form by evil-designing informers, and he grew so wrathful that he ordered him to be gone at once from the court, and renounced all subjection to the archiepiscopal power. So the King set out for Normandy, and Anselm for Kent, the one with swelling and savage spirit, the other with gentle mind awaiting God's own time for a remedy of his misfortune. pp. 84, 85 n.

3. Not long afterwards it was commonly reported that Pope Urban was dead, and had thereby anticipated the term he had appointed for King William's answer; for he had given him a remand until Michaelmas, that after being mollified by this respect shown to him, he might the more attentively collect the Peter-pence and forward them to Rome. But the King kept on putting off the matter with various pretences, and at length flatly refused to act; and when he heard of the Pope's death exclaimed, "May he who cares "for it incur the hatred of God;" and not content with this he added, "It has happened fortunately for me, and just in "good time, that he did not get my money." So also, when he inquired about the character of Urban's successor, and was informed that the new Pope had some traits of character similar to that of Anselm, he cried out, "By "God's visage! if such an one he be, it will nought avail

"him; for verily, if Anselm himself were Pope I would do "as I please." Cross-grained and arrogant as he was, and as disloyal towards God as he was towards mankind; professing indeed the Christian religion, but this more from habit than love of it, seeing that he was bribed with money, and would have procured the relapse into Judaism of many Jews,[85] who had been converted to Christianity. He held that all things took place according to fate, and habitually believed and declared that none of the Saints had the power to assist us. Constantly chiding and saying, "Do "then these long dead ones take the trouble to interest "themselves with our affairs?" And I further believe that were he to be excommunicated by the Pope, he would not care much for it, who, as far as regarded his conscience, took little heed if he went without the sacraments year after year. What shall I say of this? Is it not more horrible than all his perjury? A number of men had been accused of poaching deer, and he ordered that they all should be put to the proof by the ordeal of red-hot iron. Three days after, when all were brought before him, with their bodies untouched by the fire, incensed beyond his wont, he burst out in these words: "What is this? Is God "a just judge? May he who ever believes it henceforth "perish. Throughout the hills and valleys my judgment "alone, not God's, shall be acknowledged, because at my "good pleasure the inhabitants shall be tried both here and "everywhere." Those who heard him say these words were horrified, and I, too, shudder as I write them down. But reason calls me back, as I am going on to say more, and reminds me that I ought not to pass a hard judgment upon the dead, who has a judge superior to fate, at whose judgment every creature trembles. And not a very long time afterwards, he paid the penalty of his words and actions, being pierced through the vitals with an arrow, as I have

[85] See *Gesta Regum*, p. 500.

said elsewhere. There is, too, another reason which no less strongly urges me to desist from relating ill actions of any whomsoever in my history; for the desire of doing evil in coaxed on by hearing bad actions mentioned, and so one learns how to bring about what has been done before; neither is that, which has ever at any time been perpetrated, stamped out by long process of time. Adultery is learned while its details are narrated, and in like evil manner every crime is suggested to the mind more forcibly, as the particulars of its commission are more thoroughly explained. Rather let the iniquity of age be overwhelmed by its own incapacity, let foulness fall out of use as time goes on, let evildoing be buried with those who practise it, let us only relate those things which stimulate ingenuous minds to better deeds; let us pass over in silence all those actions which either from their voluptuousness excite our lust, or from the horrible nature of their retribution rouse our dread. On the news of William's death, Anselm shed tears, proofs of the truth of his grief, evidences of his sincere affection. And while sobs choked his utterance he bore witness with a reverent voice that he had never before been afflicted with a greater distress; and that he would willingly purchase, had it been possible for his wish to be performed, by his own departure from this world, William's return to it. But certainly, Henry I., who succeeded William, showed an aptness of character for governing the kingdom that gave scope for indulging the fullest hope, for he immediately communicated with Anselm, the father of his country, by a rapid dispatch, respecting his return, and in an affable letter invited him to come at once, begging that he would at least come and lend a hand to help the tottering kingdom, and adjudge causes that were awaiting his nod of decision. Anselm was much moved at this, and set out from Burgundy to the great grief of the inhabitants, and arriving in England to the excessive delight of his own people was favourably received by the new king, and ad-

mitted unhesitating the King's excuse from being blessed, as the ceremony had already been performed before Anselm's arrival, by the person whom the King thought he could with reason rely on to bestow it. But when the King asked him to do homage, and receive the investiture of ecclesiastical possessions, he drew himself up at once, with a reply that admitted of no two interpretations, and openly declared that the Council of Rome had appointed excommunication for all such offenders, and that he was unwilling to invalidate the power of a Council in which he had himself by his presence assisted, for it is foolish not to obey the law which you make yourself. If the lord King would permit him, he would preserve the integrity of his faith, without homage or investiture, and by God's grace would not be guilty of any omission of his duty. But, if not, he would at once prepare to return whence he had come. These words of Anselm's cast the King into a vast sea of troubles; for by driving Anselm away he would turn all men's good intentions from him, because of his disagreement with the Saint, and in like manner would incur God's anger; but if he yielded in respect of the homage and investiture, he fancied that very little or no power would be left for himself. Wherefore, after pondering the arguments for and against him, he invested the archbishop with all his rights, and referred to the Pope for advice in the affairs remaining to be settled.

In the meantime the rumoured approach of Count Rodbert to England drove for a time all such things out of their minds. The King himself, out of fear lest he lose his kingdom, and hardly sure of his life, rested all his hope upon Anselm alone, trusting all the secrets of the kingdom to him, and promising upon oath to make good laws.

On many occasions, too, when Anselm was present the King would convene a court of the nobles whom he chiefly suspected of perfidy, that the archbishop by his discourses might terrify them from executing their projects. And

Anselm was not unconscious of this, for he would so discourse upon good faith and perfidy, whether the conversation happened to turn that way or he had to turn it from other subjects very different, and in time he could easily detect the hidden workings of their minds from the outward gestures of their body. For those who were conscious of their guilt betrayed their uneasiness by the pallor of their countenance, the others with open front and vivid glances eagerly listened to him while he spoke, and even applauded him when he had spoken. pp. 104-106 n.

4. Samson, Dean of Bayeux, brother of Thomas I. Archbishop of York, and father of Thomas II. Archbishop, succeeded Vulstan, a man of no slight literary education, but so sumptuous a glutton that in these days he would have been called a mere sink of eatables; a man who would never allow any opportunity of luxury to pass by unenjoyed, if only he might thereat stuff his paunch with more delicate provocatives to appetite.

It was usual to put before him a trencher that would contain a quarter of pork and twenty-four capons, in order that when he had greedily gorged himself with the prime parts, he might pass on or give what remained in the dish to him who sat next, thus saving his good manners. But for all this, he was not unmindful of the poor, and would give assistance to at least three hundred every day. In other respects he showed an inconsistency of character, seeing that he expelled the monks whom Wlstan had established at Westbury, and took away their charter, and yet the very same man, whenever he came back from London, would bring something precious to serve as an ornament for his church, a record of his memory. Sometimes he would behave to his monks with liberality and honour, at others he would treat them as if he were a plunderer. He is believed to have died choked with fatness, just when his ripening years began to tell upon the unwieldiness of his

body, an unworthy end indeed for an anointed bishop. To his post succeeded Tiulf, the king's chaplain, who in like manner left behind him the remembrance of few worthy deeds, resembling his predecessor in his obesity, but he differed from him in hospitality. He in no way added to the decorations of his church, but by little and little stripped and diminished it of those which others had conferred upon it. Just as some men while yet in the enjoyment of unimpaired reason and vigorous health carefully conceal the malignity of their nature, but when on the verge of death, their reason having become as it were blunted, break forth into all manner of wickedness, so this man, when in more temperate mood, would address his monks kindly, and willingly appointed over them as prior one of themselves, a man of literary excellence, but afterwards so harassed him, that there was not a horse, there was not a piece of household stuff left, but he would get it from him, and this not by asking, but by sheer force. He threw upon this prior the whole cost of rebuilding the church which had been burned, although it always had been usual for the bishops to defray such an expense out of their own pocket. Last of all, he arrived at such a pitch that having procured the expulsion of the monks one after the other, he was at the point of degrading the prior, when the vengeance of God forestalled the daring of the man; for on the very day that he was going to do so, his dead body was mourned over at the town, and three days after buried at Worcester. He died before attaining to old age, at his death casting from him his ring and crozier, and tearfully lamenting that he had attained his elevation to the bishopric by simony. p. 289 n.

APPENDIX.

NOTE REFERRED TO AT PAGE 326.

A very curious testimony of the standard of Greek knowledge acquired by the most learned class, the ecclesiastics, in two periods—one before the time of our author, and the other about contemporary—is shown in the two following transcripts to which I have appended the probable equivalents in correct Greek:—

1. The first specimen is taken from a Manuscript referred by some to the early years of the eight century, and known as the Psalter of King Ethelstan. On its last leaf it contains four portions of the Church Service, the Litany of the Saints, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Hymn Triumphal or *Epinicion*.

MS. COTTON, GALBA A. XVIII., FOL. 200.

+ Hic incipiunt grecorum lietanie:
Xp̃e epacus onimiu
Aie micha'el euxe yperimon
Aie gabriel euxe yperimon
Aie raphahel euxe yperimon
Aia maria euxe yperimon
Aie petre euxe yperimon
Aie paule euxe yperimon . 7 pł.,
Pantas yaies euxaste yperimon
Ileos genuce rise ymas cyrie

Ileos genuce lutrose ymas cyrie
Apopantes cacu lutrose ymas cyrie
Diatus taurusu lutrose ymas cyrie
Amarthuluse paraca lumen epacus onimin.
Inagrinin dosisso paraca lumen epacus onimin
Ygie tutheuse paraca lumen epacus onimin.,

Ao amnos tutheu o errontin amartiastu Cosmu eleison imas.,

Hic jncipit paꝑ nosꝑ jn lingua grecorū.

Pater imon oynys uranis agiastituto onomansu . elthetu ebasilias genit thito totheli mansu. os senu uranu. kepitisgis tonartonimin . tonepiussion . dos simin simero keaffi simin . ta offilemata jmon Os ke . jmis affiomen . tasophiletas jmon . kemies ininkis imas . isperasmon . Ala ryse jmas apitu poniru.

CREDO GR̃.

Pistheu istheu patera panto cratero ceis criston ihū yon aututon mono genton quirion imon tongenegenta ecpneumatus agiu cemariatis parthenu ton epipontio pilatu stauro-thentecta finta tetrite imera anastanta egnicron anaunta istos uranos catimenon indexia tu patros oten erchete crinezon tas cenicros ceis pneuma agion agria fis inamartion sarcos anasta . amin.

SCS SC̄S SC̄S

Agios agios agios cyrus otheos sabaoth plyris urano cegaetis doxis . . . . .

The probable equivalent would be thus:—

χριστὲ ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν
Ἅγιε μιχαὴλ εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
Ἅγιε γαβριὴλ εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
Ἅγιε ῥαφαὴλ εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
Ἁγία μαρία εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
Ἅγιε πέτρε εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν

Ἅγιε παῦλε εὔξαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
Πάντες ἅγιοι εὔξασθε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
Ἵλεως γενοῦ καὶ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε
Ἵλεως γενοῦ καὶ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε
Ἀπὸ παντός κακοῦ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε
Διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε
Ἁμαρτωλοί σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν
. . . . . σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.
Υἱὲ τοῦ θεοῦ σε παρακαλοῦμεν ἐπάκουσον ἡμῖν.

Ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.*

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον, καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν [τὸν] υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γενηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀν[αβάντα] εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς; καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ... ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, ἀμήν.

Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης . . . . .

2. The second specimen, containing the Doxology and *Epinicion*, is from a Greek Grammar and Vocabulary, and also written on the last folio. Throughout the book the same style of error is to be seen, but the pieces here given

* In the original there is a confusion between the singular and plural of this expression.

be evidently the handiwork of one who has learned the language by help of the book itself. To avoid length of space I refrain from touching upon many curious and obvious points connected with this and the foregoing, in which we evidently possess fair examples of Greek as learned, written, and pronounced in the early middle ages.

MS. HARLEY 5642, FOL. 47 B.

Doxa enipsistis theo kepigis irini enan thropis eudo kia enumense eulogumense proskinumense doxo logumense eukaristumensi diatin megalinsu doxan kirrie basileu epuranie thee patir panto crator kirrie ẏemonogeni ẏsu xp̃e ke agion pneuma kirrie otheos oannos tu theu oẏos tupatros oerontin amarthian tucosmu eleẏson ẏmas oerontas amarthias tucosmu . prosdexe tindeisin imon ocatimenos en dexia tupatros eleẏson imas otosẏmonos agẏos siẏmonos kirrios siẏmonos ipsistos ẏsus christos sin agion pneumati isdoxan theupatros amin

ΑΓΙΩC ΑΓΙΩC ΑΓΙΩC ΚΙΡΙΟC CΑΒΑΩΤ ΠΛΙΡΙC ΚΕΙΕΤΙC ΔΩΞΙC ΩCΑΝΝΑ ΕΝΤΙCΙΠCΙCΤΙC ΕΟΥΛΟΓΙΜΕΝΩC ΩΕΡΚΟΜΕΝΟC ΚΕΝΑΝΟΜΑΤΙ ΚΙΡΙΟΥ ΩCΑΝΝΑ ΕΝ ΤΙCΙΠCΙCΤΙC.

This rendered into correct language would be as follows :—

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία, αἰνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν, κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε, θεέ πάτερ παντοκράτωρ, κύριε υἱὲ μονογενὲς Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, κύριε ὁ θεός. Ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου,

προσδέξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὅτι σὺ [εἶ] μόνος ἅγιος, σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος, σὺ εἶ μόνος ὕψιστος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός, ἀμήν.

Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος σαβαὼθ, πλήρης [ὁ οὐρανὸς] καὶ ἡ [γῆ] τῆς δόξης [σου], ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου, ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

XII.—ON THE EXTENT OF ANCIENT LIBRARIES.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON, M.R.S.L., F.S.S.

(Read June 26th, 1872.)

THE information which has come down to us respecting the libraries of classical antiquity is neither very minute nor very accurate.

We have but little contemporary evidence; and the narratives of compilers and essayists living long after the events recorded, must be received with a considerable amount of caution.

Still there is much interest attaching to the subject, and I think the statistical method may be advantageously applied to it, with a view of forming some definite idea of the real extent of ancient libraries when measured by modern ideas. Before doing this, I shall give a brief outline of what is known upon the subject.

Of the early Egyptian libraries scarcely anything is known.

Diodorus Siculus tells us of the sacred library of Osymandias, king of Egypt, with its inscription, "The Medicine of the Mind."[1]

This has been identified with the Ramesseum at Thebes. On the jambs of one of the rooms are sculptured Thoth, "President of the Hall of Books," and the goddess Saf, the "Lady of Letters."[2]

[1] Diod. Sic. i. 4. [2] Kenrick's 'Ancient Egypt,' i. 155.

Cheops, or Suphis, the builder of the great Pyramid, had a library.[3] So had Sephres.[4]

There is said to have been a library at Memphis, from which Homer was accused of stealing his poems!

Layard, in the course of his excavations at Kouyunjik, came upon Record Chambers filled to the height of a foot or more with clay tablets, forming a body of literature greater in extent than "all that has yet been afforded by the monuments of Egypt."[5]

Scarcely ten of these tablets were entire. There is no evidence of wilful destruction: it is simply neglect which has allowed them to be damaged. The piecing together of these fragments—more than 20,000 in number—has been the constant employment of ripe scholars for years past, and the process is still going on. Some progress has now been made in the interpretation of the arrow-headed characters with which these "clay books" are covered, and the results obtained are of great interest. The Record Chamber of Kouyunjik has been called the Royal Library of Asshurbanipal; and, however fanciful the title may seem if construed too literally, there can be no doubt that it was not a mere collection of national archives, but a repository of literature of every class. As a rule, though not invariably, each tablet is a flat piece of baked clay, having on its obverse and reverse a page of very small, closely-written, arrow-headed characters impressed on the clay whilst yet moist. Each tablet was numbered consecutively like the pages in a book. On one of the tablets belonging to a Grammatical Encyclopædia is this inscription:

[3] Osburn's 'Monumental History of Egypt,' i. 277.

[4] Ibid. i. 310. The slander on Homer is mentioned by Photius on the authority of an earlier writer.

[5] 'Nineveh and Babylon,' pp. 270, 347.

—"Palace of Asshurbanipal, King of the world, King of Assyria, to whom the god Nebo and the goddess Tashmit (the goddess of wisdom) have given ears to hear and eyes to see what is the foundation of government. They have revealed to the kings, my predecessors, this cuneiform writing, the manifestation of the god Nebo, the god of supreme intelligence. I have written it upon tablets, I have signed it, I have placed it in my palace for the instruction of my subjects."[6]

This formula occurs in several other colophons, and sometimes with the addition that the tablets had been written "according to the documents and old tablets of Assyria and Sumiri and Akkad."[7]

The earliest known "man of the written tablets" was a Babylonian named Amil-anu, who lived in the reign of Emuq-sin about sixteen centuries before the birth of Christ. He is the first librarian in the world of whom we have any record.

A considerable portion of the library of Nineveh consisted of transcripts of the older Akkadian literature, accompanied by interlinear Assyrian translations. Among the works in the Royal Library we find Akkad vocabularies, syllabaries, and grammatical aids of various sorts, intended to facilitate the acquisition of that language; a work on astronomy and astrology covering seventy tablets; a book of portents from various objects and incidents, extending to more than one hundred tablets; a treatise on mythology, comprising above one hundred and ten tablets; a history of transactions between Assyria and Babylonia; records

[6] Lenormant and Chevallier's 'Ancient Hist. of the East,' i. 445.
[7] 'North British Review,' li. 320.

of particular reigns; law tablets; the well-known Canon of Eponymi, the most important document known in connection with Assyrian history, as from it, though no perfect copy exists, much of the chronology of the Assyrian empire has been deduced. There are also tablets of a geographical, statistical, mathematical, devotional, and poetical nature. Natural history is also represented in the Ninevite Library. "Lists of known plants and minerals have been found; of the timber trees employed in building or furnishing; of stones fit for architecture or sculpture. But perhaps the most interesting of all is a list of every species of animal known to the Assyrians, classified in families and genera. No doubt the great divisions of this classification are those of a very rudimentary science, but we may well be astonished to find that the Assyrians had already invented a scientific nomenclature, similar in principle to that of Linnæus. Opposite the common name of the animal is placed a scientific and ideographic name, composed of one invariable sign, and of a characteristic epithet, varying with each species." [8]

The city of Asshur, probably the ruins now called Kalah-Shergat, was the seat of the first known Assyrian library.

The library at Calah (Nimrud) was written chiefly under the care of Nabu-zuqubgina, who was the son of Marudak-mubagar, the librarian, and grandson of Gabbu-ilani-kamis, the great librarian. He had charge of the tablets from B.C. 716 until B.C. 684.[9]

[8] Lenormant and Chevallier, i. 447.

[9] 'North British Review,' li. 313. In the account of the Babylonian and Assyrian libraries I have followed the above excellent article, and the corresponding passages in Rawlinson's 'Five Great Monarchies,' and Lenormant and Chevallier's 'Ancient History of the East.'

We know from Eusebius that the Jews carefully preserved genealogical records in their archives, and these records, if he is to be credited, went back to the period of the Exodus. They are said to have been destroyed by Herod.[10]

That they had an abundant literature is clear from such references as that of Solomon to the "making of many books," of which indeed there is, happily, "no end." The burning of the books of the Law is mentioned in Maccabees, and copies of the sacred books at least would be deposited in every synagogue.[11]

That the monarchs of Persia had collections of books is evident from some incidents in the history of Esther, although their ability to read even the chronicles of their own glory has been called in question.[12]

The lost History of Persia, by Ctesias, was drawn up from these imperial archives.

In the Book of Ezra we find mention of a search in the "house of the rolls," (or books), "where the treasures were laid up in Babylon," by Darius, for the decree made by his predecessor, Cyrus.

A learned friend, whose opinion is entitled to my highest respect, writes:—

"You might add, that if the decree of Cyrus for the restoration of the Jews be ever found—and that it exists *somewhere* at Ecbatana (Hamadan) I feel persuaded, did we only know where to look for it—it will be found to be written on an hexagonal cylinder, like those of Sennacherib and of other Assyrian monarchs."

Among the Athenians, Pisistratus the tyrant has

[10] Eusebius, i. 7. [11] Acts xv. 21; Luke iv. 16, 17.
[12] Rawlinson's 'Five Great Monarchies,' iii. 229.

the honourable distinction of having first made a provision of books for the public use. This collection was carefully augmented, but fell into the hands of Xerxes, by whom it was taken to Persia. But if we may credit Aulus Gellius, the varying fortune of empire gave Seleucus Nicanor an opportunity of restoring it to its ancient owners.[13]

Polycrates of Samos, celebrated for his luxury and extravagance, is said to have founded a library almost coevally,[14] and we learn the same fact from the same authority of Clearchus, tyrant of Heraclea.

Athenæus gives us a list of famous book collectors, amongst whom are Euclid, Nicorrates the Samian, Euripides the poet, Aristotle the philosopher, and Neleus his librarian. Aulus Gellius records an envious verse directed against Plato for having bought a little book for a great deal of silver. He is said to have paid ten thousand denarii for three books of Philolaus the Pythagorean.[15]

Strabo, speaking of Aristotle, says that he was the first person with whom we are acquainted who made a collection of books, adding that he suggested to the kings of Egypt the formation of a library.

This passage has been urged against the previous existence of libraries, but Becker opposes to it the passage in Athenæus just referred to, and the account given by Xenophon of the collection of Euthydemus, who possessed many writings of the most celebrated poets and philosophers.[16]

[13] Aulus Gellius, vi. 17. Athenæus, i. 4.
[14] Athenæus, i. v.
[15] Aulus Gellius, x. 17.
[16] Mem. iv. 2, 1.

But Becker is suspicious about the public libraries of Greece, and observes very truly, "A sort of mythical obscurity pervades these accounts. As respects Greece itself, the idea of founding public libraries awoke too late. Public spirit had long yielded to paltry private interests, and had not, on the other hand, been replaced by the liberality of high-minded princes. It was from a Roman emperor, Hadrian, that Athens first obtained a rich and magnificent library."[17]

The most celebrated library of classical antiquity was that of Alexandria, whose history shows that romance may attach even to dusty bookshelves. Founded by Ptolemy Soter, its first superintendent was Demetrius Phalereus, a self-made Athenian, who learned the instability of popular applause, and after having had 360 statues erected in his honour had to fly from Athens, and found a refuge at Alexandria. Demetrius, who was the author of fifty works, counselled his royal patron (and Ptolemy himself had written a life of Alexander the Great[18]) to gather together all the books relating to politics and government, that he might derive from them counsels which his friends dared not give him.[19] The formation of the library was proceeded with in royal style. Many nations contributed to its enrichment; books from India, Ethiopia, Chaldea, Persia, Greece, etc., were obtained regardless of cost. The Septuagint version of the Bible is said to have been made for this library.[20]

[17] Becker's 'Charicles,' ex. ii. sc. iii., "Bookselling and Libraries." See also 'Gallus,' ex. i. sc. iii., "the Library," and ex. ii. sc. iii. "the Books."

[18] Arrian. [19] Plutarch.

[20] Eusebius, E. H., v. 8. Tertullian, Apolog. c. 18.

According to Epiphanius, Ptolemy Philadelphus inquired one day how many volumes there were in it, and Demetrius answered 54,800; but Josephus tells us that the number was 200,000, and the prince expressed a wish that they might soon be increased to 500,000.[21] Eusebius gives the number of volumes at the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus as 100,000.[22] The library was in the quarter of the town called Bruchion, and was attached to the Museum, a species of college, reminding one of Bacon's ideal foundation in the New Atlantis. At the death of Ptolemy Soter, Demetrius, who had made himself obnoxious to his successor, again became a fugitive.

There has been some doubt expressed as to Demetrius having ever been, strictly speaking, the librarian. That he had the practical management of the institution seems to rest on good authority. M. Bonamy thus pronounces upon this point:—"Aristée, Aristobule, philosophe péripaticien juif, Joséphe, Tertullien, Clément d'Alexandrie, St. Cyrille de Jérusalem, St. Epiphane, St. Jérôme, St. Augustin et plusieurs autres auteurs Chrestiens qui ont parlé de cette bibliothéque et de la traduction des Septante, disent tous que cet établissement fut commis aux soins de Démétrius de Phalére."[23]

The Pagans are mostly silent as to this portion of Demetrius's life.

The library did not suffer by his flight, for Ptolemy Philadelphus was a passionate lover of books, and a right royal patron of science and literature. Zeno-

[21] Ant. xii. 2.

[22] Eusebius, 'Chronicon,' as quoted by Bonamy.

[23] Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, viii. 176.

dotus, who had been a fellow-student of Ptolemy, became superintendent, and the library was enriched by the purchase of the large collection made by Aristotle.

Strabo gives a totally different account of the fate of this library. According to him Neleus removed it to Scepsis, and bequeathed it to some ignorant persons, who kept the books locked up, lying in disorder. When the Attalic kings were foraging for material with which to stock the library of Pergamus, these books were hidden underground, from which concealment and in greatly deteriorated condition they were withdrawn by the descendants of Neleus, and sold to Apellicon of Teos. At the capture of Athens by Sylla, the library of this person was seized and brought to Rome.[24]

Callimachus the poet,[25] Eratosthenes, Apollonius

[24] Geog. xiii. 1. See on this subject Grote's 'Plato and the other Companions of Sokrates,' 1867 i., 137–141.

[25] The memory of Callimachus should be dear to librarians and bibliophiles. He was probably the first known compiler of a catalogue. "We read" says Grote, "as titles of his works:"—

1. The Museum, a general description of the Alexandrine establishment.

2. Tables of the persons who have distinguished themselves in every branch of instruction, and of the books which they have composed. —in 120 books.

3. Table and specification of the (Didaskalies) recorded dramatic representations and competitions; with dates assigned, and from the beginning.

4. Table of the peculiar phrases belonging to Demokritus, and of his works.

5. Table and specification of the rhetorical authors.

These tables of Callimachus (of which one by itself, No. 2, reached to 120 books) must have been an encyclopædia far more comprehensive than any previously compiled of Greek authors and literature. Such tables, indeed, could not have been compiled before the existence of

of Rhodes, Aristonymus the comic poet, are said to have been successively librarians. Chæremon, a fragment of whose treatise on Hieroglyphics has been made the subject of a very interesting commentary by Dr. Birch,[26] was at one time librarian.

Evergetes II. is supposed to have founded another library distinct from that in the Bruchion. The love of learning is the only redeeming trait in the character of this blood-stained monster. At his earnest request the Athenians sent him the works of Sophocles, Euripides and Æschylus to be copied. Ptolemy promised faithfully to return them in good condition, and deposited fifteen talents as surety. But having had them beautifully copied, he, according to his regular custom in such matters, retained the original, sent back the transcript, and forfeited his deposit. He also instituted contests, in which authors read their productions in competition for the various honours and prizes. There were to be seven judges, and on one occasion as there was some difficulty in making up the number, the judges suggested Aristophanes the grammarian, well known as a regular reader at the library. When the judges came to decide, Aristophanes declared in favour of a poet who had not impressed either the audience

the Alexandrine Museum. They described what Callimachus had before him in that museum, as we may see by the general title, Μουσεῖον, prefixed; moreover, we may be sure that nowhere else could he have had access to the multitude of books required." These last works of Callimachus here assume the appearance of a critical catalogue of the Alexandrian Library. Of the library at Pergamus, to be mentioned presently, and founded shortly after the death of the poet librarian, there was also a description written. (Grote's 'Plato and other Companions of Sokrates,' 1867 i., 143–144).

[26] Trans. Royal Society of Literature, 2nd ser. iii.

or the other judges favourably. But the bookworm was not to be defeated, and brought from the library the books of the writers with whose feathers the other poets had decorated themselves. It was an evident case of poetic licence, and the literary detective was promptly appointed librarian, in all probability of the new library located in the temple of Serapis.[27] The date when the Serapeum was founded is, after all, unknown; it was less than the older institution, of which it was styled the daughter.

The Ptolemies, with all their faults, had in every generation a passion for learning; the library was a favourite object with each of them, and neither money nor trouble was spared in increasing its extent and value. At the siege of the town by Julius Cæsar, the older library and the greater part of the quarter in which it stood was burned. Orosius says that 400,000 volumes were destroyed in this conflagration. That the library of the Serapeum was also burned at this period seems to be certain.

Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that the concurrent testimony of ancient records affirms that 700,000 volumes, gathered in the libraries of the Ptolemies, perished at this time.[28] Possibly some volumes may have escaped destruction, and formed a nucleus for a new library.

We read no more of the library of the Bruchion after this conflagration, although the museum is mentioned by Strabo as existing in his day. Under Domitian the Alexandrian collection had acquired such a reputation, that he sent copyists there to transcribe

[27] Vitruvius, b. vii. [28] Amm. Mar. .xxii. 13.

volumes with which to repair the losses caused by fire in several libraries of the empire. Dionysius of Alexandria was then librarian. When Theophilus, in the year A.D. 390, undertook his crusade against paganism, the Serapeum was the scene of a bloody conflict between the adherents of the old and the new faith. One heathen philosopher alone is said to have killed nine Christians. The temple was destroyed, and the books of the library which were in the neighbouring churches pillaged and destroyed. Twenty years after Orosius saw the empty cases.[29]

It seems to be well established, then, that the library of Alexandria was destroyed, not through the ignorance and fanaticism of the Muhammedan conquerors, but by the brutality and violence of some followers of the meek and lowly Jesus. Gregorius Bar-Hebræus, living six hundred years after the taking of Alexandria by Amrou, gives the following dramatic narrative of the alleged Moslem destruction:—

"John the grammarian came to Amrou, who was in possession of Alexandria, and begged that he might be allowed to appropriate a part of the booty. 'Which part do you wish for?' asked Amrou. John replied, 'The books of philosophy which are in the treasury' (library) 'of kings.' Amrou answered that he could not dispose of these without the permission of the Emir Al-Moumenin Omar. He wrote to the Emir, who replied in these terms—'As to the books you speak of, if their contents are in conformity with the Book of God' (the Koran) 'we have no need of them; if, on the contrary, their contents are opposed

[29] Hist. vi. 15.

to it, it is still less desirable to preserve them, so I desire that they may be destroyed.' Amrou-Ben-Alas, in consequence, ordered them to be distributed in the various baths in Alexandria, to be burnt in the stoves; and after six months not a vestige of them remained."[30]

That the early Arabic conquerors had an ignorant dislike for literature is true enough, and that they were capable of such an action is certain, but the inaccuracy of Abulfaraj is very easily seen. Thus we know that one of the interlocutors in the dialogue, John of Alexandria, was dead before the date at which it is said to have taken place. Again, there is an uniform silence on the subject for centuries; no trace of the incident is to be found in historical literature until the appearance of this very circumstantial account in the latter half of the thirteenth century.[31]

It is possible that there were successively four libraries at Alexandria:—1, that of the Bruchion; 2, that of the Serapeum; 3, that of the Sebasteum; 4, that of the School of Alexandria. The last is the only one that could have fallen into the hands of the Mohammedans.

The library of Pergamus was probably founded by Attalus I. (B.C. 241–197). It was enlarged by his

[30] Delepierre's Hist. Difficulties, p. 35.

[31] The writers who mention the destruction of the Alexandrian library by Amrou are Abulfaraj (Gregorius Bar-Hebræus), Abd-Allatif, and Makrizi, the two first of whom belong to the thirteenth and the last to the fourteenth century. It is obvious that, in the absence of any allusion to the fact by earlier writers, their testimony has little value. See 'Relat. de l'Égypte' par Abd-Allatif. trad. par de Sacy, 1810, p. 183; 'Historical Difficulties,' by Oct. Delepierre, 1868, p. 31; and 'Memoirs of Libraries,' by Edwards, i. p. 25.

successors, and grew so rapidly as to excite the ill-will of the Egyptian king, who, in the hope of stopping its progress, prohibited the export of paper from his dominions. To this short-sighted policy we owe, if not the invention, at least the great improvement of the art of making parchment. The end of this library was not a little curious. After escaping those dangers of war which had ruined its greater rival, the library of Alexandria, it was given by Mark Antony to Cleopatra, perhaps in part requital for the damage caused by the burning of Cæsar's fleet. The number of volumes was estimated at 200,000.[32]

A collection of books at Carthage was presented by the Roman Senate to Regulus when the city fell under their dominion.

At Rome the first approach to a public library appears to have been that of Lucullus. Plutarch, after condemning his luxury, says,[33] "But that especially which he bestowed upon books was a very commendable and honest expense. For that he gathered together a great number of notable histories, the use whereof was more honour unto him than the having of them. For his library was ever open to all comers, and they suffered the Grecians to come into his goodly tarrasses and faire walkes, or other pleasant places thereabouts convenient, to sit and reason together, and never shut the doore against them; where learned men met commonly, and oftentimes spent the whole day in conference together, as in the house of the Muses; being very glad when other matters were dispatched, they had but so much leisure as but to go thither."

[32] Plut. Anton. 58.

[33] North's translation, Lond. 1657, p. 446.

This certainly precedes the foundation of Asinius Pollio, who, according to Pliny, was the first founder of a public library at Rome.[34] This library, formed with the spoil of enemies, was decorated with a statue of Varro, the first Roman so honoured during his lifetime.

Plutarch, in his account of the Macedonian campaign of Paulus Æmilius, mentions the spoiling of the King's library by the learned sons of the conquering Roman.

He relates also how, in the same manner, Sylla appropriated the library of Apellicon, after the conquest of Athens.

A large public collection of Greek and Latin books was one of the projects of Julius Cæsar, and to Varro was entrusted the task of gathering and arranging them.[35]

It has been conjectured that Cæsar's intention was carried out, and that Asinius Pollio only added to the collection so formed.[36]

Augustus founded a library in connection with the temple of Apollo, which he built upon the Palatine Hill. Here in his presence was sung by a band of noble youths and virgins the Carmen Sæculare of Horace, and here, in his later years, he assembled the Senate.

Another Roman library was named after Octavia,

[34] Pliny, N. H. vii. 31.; xxv. 2.

[35] Suetonius, Jul., 44.

[36] Merivale, Hist. of Romans under the Empire, c. xx. He speaks with generous enthusiasm of Cæsar's "genuine and unaffected love of literature," and says that "his institution of a public library, not offered to the citizens for their use, but surrendered to them for their own property, was a novelty in the career of civilization."

the sister of Augustus, who dedicated it to the memory of her son Caius Marcellus.[37]

Domitian restored, at great cost, the libraries which had been burnt down, collected books from all quarters, and even sent scribes to Alexandria to copy some of the MSS. in that famous storehouse. Like some modern book-collectors, he was not over-partial to reading the books he so lavishly acquired.[38] Gellius mentions reading in the library of the Temple of Peace—surely a beautifully appropriate locality.[39] The same author elsewhere speaks of the library in the palace of Tiberius, and of that in the temple of Trajan.[40] The latter was usually called the Ulpian library, and was attached to his baths as an ornament by Diocletian.

This having been destroyed, it was rebuilt by Gordian, who placed in it the collection bequeathed to him by Sammonicus, amounting, according to Capitolinus, to 62,000 volumes. This estimate is sometimes increased to 80,000 volumes.

Lucullus has already been named; among other famous Romans who collected private libraries were Atticus and Cicero. Indeed, at one time book-collecting became a fashion. Seneca is severe upon the tribe which bought but read not.[41]

No complete books have been found at Pompeii, but at Herculaneum 1696 rolls and fragments were discovered, most of them in a room so small that both sides of it could be touched by merely holding out the arms. The condition of these MSS. is well known.

[37] Plutarch, Marc. 30.
[38] Suetonius, Domit. xx.
[39] Aul. Gell. xvi. 8.
[40] Id. xiii. 17.
[41] De Tranq. An. 9.

Sir H. Davy's experiments showed them to be in "a state analogous to peat or Bovey coal, the leaves being generally cemented into one mass by a peculiar substance which had formed during the fermentation and chemical change of the vegetable matter composing them, in a long course of ages." The attempts to unroll these MSS. have not been attended with a large amount of success. About 88 have been partially unrolled; nine of these are works of Epicurus, thirty-two of Philodemus, and three of Demetrius. The works of the unknown writers "are either natural or moral philosophy, medicine, criticism, and general observations on life and manners."[42]

Constantine the Great founded a library at Constantinople, which, at his death, is said to have contained 6,900 volumes, but gradually increased, until under Theodosius the Younger, it was estimated to hold 120,000 volumes. Amongst the curiosities of this collection was a MS. of Homer, 120 feet long, written with letters of gold, on serpents' skin. This library was destroyed by fire, under Zeno. Another collection, extending to 33,000 volumes, is said to have been destroyed by Leo III. Dr. Finlay disbelieves the charge, but says, "a valuable collection of books seems to have fallen accidentally a prey to the flames during his reign, and neither his liberality nor the public spirit of the Greeks induced them to display any activity in replacing the loss."[43]

Another Byzantine library was that founded by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. What became of this

[42] Quarterly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Arts, 1819, vii. 159-160. Philosophical Transactions, 1821, xxxi. 191-208.

[43] Hist. of Byzantine Empire, 1856; i. 52.

Imperial Library when the Turks overthrew the Eastern Empire is not certainly known. It has been the hope of the learned for ages that some portions of it may have survived both neglect and devotion of the Omar type, and be still in the Seraglio. The grounds for such hopes are very slender.

In the reign of Basilicus a great fire is said to have destroyed the Basilica, containing 600,000 volumes.[44]

A word may perhaps be said here of the early Christian libraries. Eusebius mentions one founded by the martyr Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, from which he had collected materials for his 'Ecclesiastical History.'[45]

St. Pamphilus, another Christian martyr, formed at Cæsarea a public library, consisting mainly of theological literature. Amongst its other treasures were the Tetrapla and Hexapla of Origen, from which a new recension of the Septuagint was made. There was also the Hebrew text of St. Matthew's gospel.[46] This library is said to have been destroyed by the Arabs in the seventh century. It is said to have contained about 30,000 volumes. Libraries attached to Christian churches also existed at Cirtha, Hippo, Rome, Limoges, and Périgueux. Jerome and Florentius had each a large library. Ferroleus had a library in his house near Nîmes, composed chiefly of religious books, and intended for the use of women, but including a portion reserved for fathers of families, which contained not only Augustin and Prudentius, but Varro and Horace.

[44] Gyllius: Antiq. of Const. ii. 19.

[45] Euseb, vi. 20.

[46] Davidson's Int. New Test. i. p. 5 (where all the passages relating to the language of the first Gospel are collected). Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biog.' (Pamphilus).

Each church is said to have had its library. St. Paulinus wrote over the entrance of his two verses, which show that it was open to the believers who might wish to study in it:—

"Si quem sancta tenet meditandi in lege voluntas,
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris."[47]

It will be noticed that we have really very little information as to the extent of individual libraries in Greece and Rome. The library of Pergamus, at the date of its transfer to Alexandria, is said to have contained 200,000 volumes. The contents of the Alexandrian library are stated in figures varying from one to seven hundred thousand.

	Volumes.
Seneca rates them at	400,000
Aulus Gellius	700,000
Eusebius (at the death of Philadelphus)	100,000
Ammianus Marcellinus . . .	700,000
Isidorus	700,000
Josephus (during the life of Philadelphus)	200,000

The probability seems to be that there were two libraries, one containing 400,000, and the other 300,000 volumes. The Ulpian library, when rebuilt by Gordian, is said to have had 62,000 volumes. The Imperial libraries at Constantinople, at various periods, are estimated to have contained 6,900, 120,000, 600,000, and 33,000 volumes. The public library, founded by Pamphilus, is supposed to have had 30,000 vols.

[47] Most of the details as to early Christian libraries are derived from the article in Martigny, Dict. des Antiq. Chrétiennes, 1865.

It is enough for the present purpose to know that a collection of 200,000 volumes was esteemed a magnificent one, and that one of 700,000 was an eighth wonder of the world, sufficient to excite the astonishment and admiration of all classic antiquity. Before we can estimate the real extent of these libraries, it is necessary that we should know exactly what the ancients meant by the term volume.

The materials used for writing upon in Greece and Rome were mainly papyrus and parchment, and this more especially as regards books. The writing was usually only upon one side of the leaf, and with a liberal margin if we may judge from a passage in Juvenal, satirizing a literary pretender, whose manuscript was filled to the edges, and written on the back.[48]

The paper or parchment was fastened together so as to form one long sheet, which wound round a staff.[49] The MS. was styled indifferently liber, or volumen. The extent of these rolls corresponded with what we now regard as the natural divisions in which the author had arranged his labours. Thus Ovid speaks of the fifteen volumes of his 'Metamorphoses' and the three volumes of the 'Art of Love,'[50] and Cicero[51] of the two first books and third volume of the Tusculan disputation. Occasionally, the author was so long-winded, that his three "books" would make six volumes.

It can, indeed, be readily conceived that, in those days even more than now, a great book was a great

[48] Juvenal, i. 5. See also Martial, Epig. viii. 62. Juvenal, vii. 23. Persius, iii. 10.

[49] Ovid, Trist. 3, i. 13.

[50] Ovid. Trist. 1. i. 117.

[51] Cicero, Tusc. iii. 3.

evil. The rolls were kept in receptacles ("capsæ"), strongly reminding one of band-boxes. The capsa contained only a small number; a painting at Pompeii represents six rolls in one of these book-cases. Square books were, indeed, not unknown, but they were uncommon.

With a view to learn their average extent, I have had a careful estimate made of the actual number of letters in some of these classical volumes. The result may be thus stated:—

	Volumes.		Letters.
Virgil's Bucolics . .	10 eclogues	about	32,777
count these as 1 book			
„ Georgics . .	4 books	„	83,868
„ Æneid . . .	12 do.	„	385,328
The Culex	1 do.	„	15,183
Pliny's Nat. Hist. . .	37 do.	„	2,330,165
Livy	35 do.	„	2,954,100
Tacitus, Annals . . .	12 do.	„	543,090
„ Histories. . .	5 do.	„	316,240
„ De Oratoribus .	1 do.	„	58,050
„ Germania . .	1 do.	„	32,400
„ Agricola . .	1 do.	„	38,950
Aulus Gellius . . .	20 do.	„	604,610
Ovid's Amores . . .	3 do.	„	81,200
„ Metamorphoses	first 11 do.	„	279,942
	144		7,755,903

We have here 144 volumes, 37 of science, 54 of history, 32 of poetry, 21 of miscellaneous literature, a fairly representative group.[52] They contain about

[52] I am told that Reimann, whose works are not accessible to me, considers that although when written by the author, the "books" would be on separate rolls, yet when copied, they would all be on one

71,755,903 letters, an average of 53,860 letters per volume. Now, if we take Chambers's Encyclopædia (Edinburgh, W. and R. Chambers, 1860–1868) and examine it in a similar manner, we shall find it contains in ten volumes 8,266 pages, each of which when without engravings, contains about 5,928 letters. The entire work will contain about 49,000,848, and is equivalent to 854 volumes of Greek and Roman literature. One volume contains as much as 85 of the ancient rolls. A thousand volumes printed in this manner would only fill a single shelf, and if we take the most extravagant estimate for the Alexandrian collection, it would not contain more than 8,247 volumes of the size of the encyclopædia already referred to. If we follow the most reasonable conjecture, and suppose two libraries, one of 400,000, and the other of 300,000 volumes, they would be equal to 4,706 and 3,535 volumes respectively.

Beside the monster collections of modern times, the ancient libraries sink into absolute insignificance. The British Museum, for instance, in 1860 contained (besides its immense collections of MSS.) nearly 700,000 printed volumes, and is adding about 30,000 volumes yearly. There are few of the public and semi-public libraries now so common in England, that do not exceed in quantity the Alexandrian Library.

However much wisdom may have lingered, knowledge, at least, has come. Of this we have a striking

roll. I cannot say by what arguments he supports this view, which appears very unlikely to be correct, and have failed to find any evidence to support it in the very few passages bearing on the subject in classical literature.

proof in the fact, that when the wealth and liberality of the Ptolemies had gathered all that was known of science and literature into a library famous for its unmatched extent in the ancient world, the total did not exceed in quantity the contents of an English town library. Whether as much can be said for quality as for quantity, may be matter of dispute. If the Romans had Juvenal, they had also Codrus.

If we compare the private libraries of antiquity with those of the present time, the contrast is equally striking. Thus the 1,696 rolls found in a house at Pompeii would be equivalent to only twenty of modern volumes previously described.

Even the most determined pessimist, the most resolute eulogizer of the good old times, might be tempted to join in a hymn to Progress, and say,

> "Yet I doubt not, through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns."

XIII.—ON A THIRTEENTH CENTURY SERVICE BOOK OF STRASBOURG, WITH DRAMATIC REPRESENTATIONS.

BY WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH.

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DRAMATIC literature was almost, if not entirely, extinguished at the close of the classical period, and never revived in its secular form until about the tenth century after Christ. Many points of comparison, as well as of divergence, are exhibited by the first and second birth of the drama, for just as in the one case the oldest form of the representations had a direct religious aspect, so in the other the earliest form of renascent tragedy is exhibited by the mystery play, wherein a simple Bible story is but slightly modified, to suit the actors, the action, and the natural exigencies of any mimetic reproduction. If we run over the catalogue of nations we shall find that nearly all ancient and modern peoples, civilized or still barbarous, employed and yet employ some species of dramatic representation, simple or intricate in proportion to their acquirement of perfection in the kindred arts, with the exception of the Egyptians, and in their case we can only produce evidence of a negative character. The early peoples of the Indian continent, the Chinese and Japanese, and, in a word, all the Asiatics, took an excessive delight in theatrical productions, using scenes, poetry, rhymed dialogue, and

set musical pieces, as we do to-day. The plots of the Asiatic stage are generally ingenious and intricate, yet staid and of pompously slow action, although they depict manners and customs rather than characteristic developments. Greece, the true home of all that was pure and ennobling in the civilized world of twenty-five centuries ago, illustrates, in the Attic drama, the progenitor of the classical drama as we have it in the literature of Hellas and Latium, the ultimate style of all we can yearn after to-day, the true expression of the strongest passion which actuates mankind, be it for good or ill, and its attendant consequences. This Attic drama arose from the recitations of the leaders of the Dithyrambus, and exhibits in itself two distinctly different individualities; the *dialogues* written in Attic Greek and Iambic or Trochaic metres, stately, uniform, and eminently regular, as pointing for its origin to the rhapsodical recitations so much cultivated by the Ionians; and the *chorus*, more or less Doric and carrying upon its surface the lyrical rather than the dramatic element, which was the legitimate and naturally consequent offshoot of the lyric poetry of the Dorians, originally appropriated to the worship of Phœbus, and later on to that of Dionysus. Hence it is that Roman drama, not born until the conquest of Greece, was of an essentially Greek form, and that long after its domiciliation in the capital of the conqueror of Athens, as Horace, in his *Ars Poetica*, plainly indicates:—

> "Grecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
> Intulit agresti Latio ——."

These lines apply to the drama as fitly as to the other liberal arts. With the fall of Rome, fell also

ancient dramatic art, and the rare and isolated links between this and the drama of the middle ages are very poor and unsatisfactory, failing altogether to express the glory of the departed art or to foreshadow the brighter glory yet to come to crown the efforts of theatrical inspiration. Take, for example, one of the best known examples of this period, an Iambic play in the Greek language upon a Jewish Scriptural plot, in which the principal characters are "Moses, Sapphora, and God-from-the-Bush," the composition of the Jew Ezekiel, who flourished at the close of the second century before Christ. Such a work cannot be compared for a moment with the poorest of all the classical plays from which it was professedly a derivation.

It is a very remarkable fact, one which I have not seen noticed elsewhere, and one which demands greater time and space to elucidate than is within the scope of the present paper, that although all drama directly derives its being from sacred sources, mystic legends, and the instruction of priestcraft, yet the abstract profession of the actor, who was at the best merely an exponent of the text, and expected to bring to bear no more originality than was necessary for its vivification, was nevertheless from the earliest days looked upon with a large amount of disfavour. Even now, with all the effects that a more far-seeing culture can induce upon our minds, and for all that in emulation of the days of classical ages we applaud successful actors, well-nigh venerate them; and as an earnest of our admiration shower down lavish sums upon them, we cannot divert our minds from viewing the profession generally as failing to occupy so ex-

alted a position as is accorded to other professions, which depend equally upon the talent of those engaged in the pursuit.

After the long sleep of the spirit of the theatre in the earliest period of the middle ages, the Italians,[1] as we should naturally expect, first made an endeavour to awaken the glories of the ancient drama, and this, notwithstanding precedent, was thoroughly independent of classical rules, whether the subjects they treated were religious plays or secular performances. The theatre of the Spanish peninsula is derived from a religious source, and whereas other countries soon shook off the ecclesiastical element, in Spain it still retained its sacred form, as it does indeed to the present day; most of the efforts of the best Spanish tragedians, Calderon and Lopez de Vega for instance, being devoted to religious compositions, or at least for church purposes. The performance of the *autos sacramentales* was prohibited only as late as 1765. In France the mysteries originated to all appearance in the pilgrimages so popular in the middle ages. Menestrier tells us how the weary pilgrims frequently purchased a transitory rest in their travels by composing rudely rhyming songs, consisting of recitations of Scriptural plots, principally bearing on the history of Our Saviour and of the miraculous acts of his Saints. In Germany the earliest notice of any dramatic performance is in the *History of Tyll Owlglass*, or *Eulenspiegel*,[2] a celebrated buffoon, who is thought to have

[1] *Cf.* British Cyclopædia, *art.* Drama.

[2] See an English translation of this book, with the following title:—*The Marvellous Adventures of Tyll Owlglass newly collected . . . and set forth in our English Tongue by Kenneth Robert Henderso n Mackenzie. London*, 1680 [1859], 8vo.

flourished in the middle of the fourteenth century, in which we find, among other rascalities and practical jokes practised by worthy *Tyll*, a chapter detailing "how he made a play in Easter fair, wherein the priest and his maidservant fought with the boors." The oldest German drama is by some writers placed as late as the middle of the fifteenth century; but long before this time Hroswitha, abbess of Gandersheim in Germany, composed plays, in imitation of Terence, principally representing the reclamation of vicious women as nuns to the seclusion of the cloister.[3] The religious spectacular drama spread with rapidity throughout England, France, and Spain during the eleventh and twelfth centuries,—the church being the theatre, as naturally as the Bible the text-book of the performance, and the scene sometimes extending from the sanctuary to the porch. In the latter century Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Grostête, bishop of Lincoln, and other Englishmen, composed Norman plays, probably in emulation of St. Aldhelm's method of inculcating religion into the semibarbarous minds of the West-Saxons at the close of the seventh century.[4] London was renowned for its scenic repre-

[3] *Cf.* Walcott, *Sacred Archæology*, p. 398.

[4] W. Malm. *Gesta Pontif.*, p. 336. Denique commemorat Elfredus carmen triviale, quod adhuc vulgo cantitatur Aldelmum fecisse; aditiens causam qua probet rationabiliter tantum virum his quæ videantur frivola institisse. Populum eo tempore semi-barbarum, parum divinis sermonibus intentum, statim cantatis missis domos cursitare solitum. Ideo sanctum virum, super pontem qui rura et urbem continuat, abeuntibus se opposuisse obicem, quasi artem cantitandi professum. Eo plus quam semel facto plebis favorem et concursum emeritum. Hoc commento sensim *inter ludicra verbis Scripturarum insertis* cives ad sanitatem reduxisse; qui si severe et cum excommunicatione agendum putasset, profecto profecisset nichil.

sentations of the miracles and sufferings of Confessors and Saints, as early as the commencement of the reign of Henry III.; the English dramatic school deriving much from the power of Gallic influence, and being in all likelihood as greatly dependent upon and adapted from French plots and French works as it is to-day. Religious pieces, scenes from the lives of saints, and the tortures inflicted upon the martyrs of the Church, were put upon the stage as long ago as 1108; the *St. Katherine* being exhibited at Dunstable before 1119, while the oldest specimen of English miracle play is of the beginning of the reign of Edward III., and founded on the pseudo-gospel of Nicodemus. Chester was also famous for these shows and theatrical pageants. The principal seasons for their preparation appear to have been Christmas and the Whitsun holidays,—the trading companies and guilds taking upon themselves the expense and responsibility, but in London the parish clerks undertook these burdens.

I have thus given a short and, I fear, very imperfect sketch of the drama from its earliest days up to the period to which the manuscript I am about to describe is to be referred—the end of the twelfth or early thirteenth century. In 1866 the British Museum acquired from a collector of theological manuscripts a Service-book, resembling at first sight an *Antiphonarium* or Book of Anthems; but it differs from the well defined form of that book in many important points, as I shall proceed to point out, with the addition of some remarks respecting the identification of the *Use*, or in other words the particular diocese and cathedral in which the services it con-

tains were carried out, and some attempt to indicate the probable author of the whole arrangement embodied in the book itself.

The manuscript is written upon ninety leaves of vellum, duodecimo size, containing about eighteen lines to each page, and in a fine and uniform hand, which bears some similarity to the German hand of the period in which it was transcribed (British Museum, Additional MS., 23932). The rubrics are written in bright red ink, the text in black, and there is no other colouring throughout. The portions intended to be sung are for the most part marked over line with the so-called *pneumata* or accentual breathings, which may also have conveyed to the eye some indications of the notes to be sung,—a kind of notation in use to represent the proper intonation or chant appointed for observation in the church or throughout the diocese for which the book was prepared. The contents would take up too much space if given in full, so I shall briefly summarise them. Of those pieces which were well known, the first few words of the commencing line were merely written; those, however, which were then just new or coming into vogue are written at full length. The book begins with the Advent service:—

Dominica quarta ante Nativitatem Domini ad vesperas.

Then follow the proper anthems and psalms.

Ymnus: Conditor[5] alme siderum, etc.,

at full length, without *pneumata*.

[5] The hymns and other poetical pieces will be found in Herman Adalbert Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, 3 vols. 8vo., Halis, 1841–6, and in the Rev. T. Helmore's *Accompanying Harmonies to the Hymnal noted*, 2 parts, 1852, 1858.

In vigilia Nativitatis Domini.

Anthems, psalms, responses, and versicles, followed by the hymn:

A solis ortus cardine.

The similar services are carried on until we come to that for the Epiphany, which contains a remarkable difference from any known service-book. In it we find one of the earliest known miracle plays, and certainly the earliest set to musical notes, here placed over the words, and I am inclined to think it was accompanied with suitable action and dress. The text of this day's service is as follows:—

In octava Epiphaniæ.[6]

Antiphona: * O admirabile c̃.
Psalmus: Laudate, p̃.
Ymnus: Hostis Herodes.
Versiculus: Reges Tharsis et ins̃.
Antiph: * Fontes aquarum.
Ps: Magnificat.

Magus unus cantet.

* Stella fulgore nimio rutilat.

Alter.

* Quæ regem regum natum monstrant.

Tercius.

* Quem venturum olim profecia signaverat.

Internuncius.

* Assunt nobis domine rex viri ignoti ab oriente venientes. noviter natum quendam regem quæritantes.

Rex.

* ad nos vocentur
ut eorum a nobis sermones audiantur.

[6] In these extracts, the words in italic type are written in red ink, and the sentences to which asterisks are prefixed are accompanied with *pneumata*.

Internuncius ad magos.

* Rex vos vocat
ut quem quæratis regem et ipse agnoscat.

Nequaquam dicunt magi.

Armiger ad regem.

* Vive rex in æternum.

Rex.

* Quid rumoris habes.

Armiger.

* En magi veniunt
et regem regum natum stella duce requirunt.

Rex.

* ante venire jube quo possim singula scire.
Qui sint. Cur veniant. Quo nos rumore requirant.

Armiger ad magos.

* Regia vos mandata vocant, non segniter ite.

Cum steterint ante regem dicat

Rex.

* Quæ sit causa viæ, qui vos, vel unde venitis,
dicite nobis.

Magi.

* Rex est causa viæ, reges sumus ex Arabitis
huc venientes.

Rex ad simistas.

* Huc simmistæ mei disertos paginæ scribas
propheticæ ad me vocate.

Symmistæ.

* O principes sacerdotum, et o vos scribæ populorum, pertractate dicta magorum et dicite nobis tanti pueri ortum; si scripta illum probaverint solus regnabit nostraque lex coram illo silebit.

Rex ad scribas.

* O vos scribæ interrogati dicite si quid de hoc puero scriptum videretis in libris.

Scribæ.

* Vidimus domine in prophetarum lineis nasci Christum in Bethleem civitate David, propheta sic vaticinante.

Chorus—antiphona.

* Bethleem non es minima.

Rex ad magos.

* Regem quem quæritis natum esse quo signo didicistis.

Magi.

* Illum natum esse didicimus in oriente
stella monstrante.

Rex.

* Si illum regnare creditis dicite nobis.

Magi.

* Hunc regnare fatentes cum mysticis muneribus
de terra longinqua adorare venimus
trinum Deum venerantes tribus in muneribus:

I.

* Auro regem;

II.

* Thure sacerdotem;

III.

* Mirra mortalem.

Rex ad magos.

* Ite et de puero diligenter investigate
et invento redeuntes michi renunciate
ut et ego veniens adorem eum.

Magi in eundo cantant.

* Eamus ergo et inquiramus eum offerentes ei munera aurum thus et mirram.

Item magi.

* Ecce stella in oriente prævisa iterum præcedet nos lucida.

Pastores.

* Pastores loquebantur ad invicem.

Magi ad pastores.

* Pastores dicite quid nam vidistis.

Respo[nsio] pastorum.

* Infantem vidimus.

Obstetrices.

* Qui sunt hi quos stella ducit nos adeuntes inaudita ferentes.

Magi.

* Nos sumus quos cernitis reges Tharsis et Arabum et Saba dona offerentes Christo regi nato domino quem stella deducente adorare venimus.

Obstetrices.

* Ecce puer adest quem quæritis jam properate adorare quia ipse est redemptio mundi.

Tunc cantet unus magorum.

* Salve princeps seculorum,
* Suscipe rex aurum ;

Secundus.

* Tolle thus tu vere Deus ;

III.

* Myrram signum sepulturæ.

Angelus.

* Impleta sunt omnia quæ prophetice dicta sunt ; ite viam remeantes aliam.

Armiger.

* Delusus es, domine, magi viam redierunt aliam.

Rex.

* Incendium meum Ruina extinguam.

Here ends the Epiphany play, which appears to me to show a thorough theatrical spirit, an endeavour to obtain effect by all the legitimate artifices still in use. We recognise also stage directions in such sentences as "Nequaquam dicunt magi;" "Magi in eundo cantant;" "Pastores loquebantur ad invicem," and "Cum steterint ante regem dicat rex." There is too, some rude and partial attempt to preserve a

metrical style, which in some lines approaches the hexameter, the adonic, or the trochaic verse, combined with a rhythmical asonance at the endings of the lines or the sentences.

At folio 12 *b* is a special service for St. Thomas's Day, when a procession takes place, indicating that the cathedral for which the book was prepared possessed an altar dedicated to this Saint. The rubrics are these:—

Processio ad Sanctum Thomam.

In ingressu ecclesiæ sancti Thomæ.

Candelis benedictis imponatur hæc antiphona:—

* Aurea lux mundi, resplendens gloria cœli,
  Nobis sis fautrix virgo dei genetrix.
Vincula quæ solvis vinctæ prius omnia carnis,
  Clemens exaudi vota tui populi.
Pacis porta dei stabilis quia pervia nulli,
  Ad cœli sedes has quoque ferto preces.
Rex de qua vitæ processit plena salute,
  Dirige sub verbo gaudia nostra tuo.
Filia tu regum dominatrix cœlicolarum,
  Nos pressos recrea crimine cum venia.
Cujus ad hæc gentis comiteris summa decoris,
  Quo tempus nostrum fulgeat innocuum.
Florida concordis Christo laus vincta cohortis,
  Pignora sophiæ nos relevate piæ.[7]
Nos quia terrenum scimus superasse tyrannum,
  Hinc petimus supero jungite nos solio.
Atala, perhtsuuindis[8] odilia, spes alabidis,
  Gesa, gesta, fides, cernite nos humiles.

[7] The meaning of this and the three following distichs is obscure, but appears to refer to the legend of St. Sophia and her daughters SS. Faith, Hope, and Charity.

[8] The words in this distich are difficult to understand; *perhtsuuindis* may be an old German word connected with *përaht*,

Tercia de binis gemini cognomen amoris,
Matris cara tuæ filia virgo fave.
Candida, justina, cecilia, digna, columba,
Fautrices propiis este simul famulis.
Virginitate pia præfulgens virgo maria,
Floribus his populum sancta tuere tuum.

A majore processione cantetur hæc antiphona, &c., &c., &c.

In the service, at folio 17 *b*, for Septuagesima, occurs a transcript of a hymn now well known in its English form, commencing "The strain upraise of joy and praise, Alleluia," having been translated by Dr. Neale, and as it contains several variations from the other printed examples, I venture to reproduce it here:—

Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc aevia.[9]
In laudibus eterni regis hæc plebs resultet aevia.
Hoc denique cœlestes chori cantant in altum aevia.
Hoc beatorum per prata paradisiaca psallat concentus aeuia.
Quin et astrorum micancia luminaria jubilant altum aevia.
Nubium cursus, ventorum volatus, fulgurum coruscatio, et tonitruum sonitus dulce consonent symul aevia.
Fluctus et undæ, imbres et procellæ, tempestas et serenitas, cauma, gelu, nix, pruinæ, saltus, nemora pangant alleluia.
Hinc variæ volucres creatori laudibus concinite cum alleluia.
Ast illinc respondeant voces altæ diversarum bestiarum aevia.
Istinc moncium celsj vertices sonent aevia.

equivalent to Anglo-Saxon *beorht*, bright, and *swindi*, A.S. *suiðs*, powerful. Cf. *Altdeutsches Lesebuch und Wörterbuch*, Oscar Schade, 2 vols. 8vo., Halle, 1862–6.

[9] Apparently a vocalised rendering of Alleluia.

Illinc vallium profunditates saltent aevia.
Tu quoque maris jubilans abysse dic aevia.
Nec non terrarum molis immensitates aevia.
Nunc omne genus humanum laudans exultet aevia.
Et creatori grates frequentans consonet aevia.
Hoc denique nomen audire jugiter delectatur aevia.
Hoc etiam carmen celeste comprobat ipse Christus aevia.
Nunc vos o socii cantate lætantes aevia.
Et vos pueruli respondete semper alleluia.
Nunc omnes canite simul aevia domino aevia Christo pneumatique aevia.
Laus trinitati æternæ aevia aevia aevia aevia aevia aevia.

The next object of interest occurs in the Palm Sunday service, which is thus arranged:—

Dominica in palmis. Ad vesperam.

In die ad processionem.

In ingressu ecclesiæ Sancti Petri.

Ad benedicendos ramos Palmarum.

Ramis palmarum benedictis, imponatur hæc antiphona.

Hæc antiphona cantetur a processione Sancti Petri atque Thomæ. Versus Thietolfi.

Gloria[10] laus et honor tibi sit rex Christe redemptor.
Cui puerile decus promisit osanna pium.

[10] This is the celebrated poem known as the "Gloria, Laus, et Honor," a hymn and vocal melody of six elegiac distichs, sung on Palm Sunday inside the church while the choir moved in a magnificent procession from the altar to the closed portals, where, no doubt, the accompanying drama was performed. It was composed by Theodulfus, here called Thietolfus, an early Italian bishop of Orleans, while he was in prison at Angers, A.D. 835. He had been incarcerated on a charge of conspiring against King Louis I., the *Pious*, who is said to have overheard him singing his composition, and at once released him. Some authors, however, attribute the work to Reginald, Bishop of Langres. Walcott states that at Lisieux, as in English mediæval cathedrals, it is sung from a gallery over the great west door. Helmore has printed a slightly different Latin version, with English translation and musical accompaniment.

Israhel es tu rex, davidis et inclita proles,
Nomine qui in domini rex benedicte venis.
Gloria, laus, &c.

Cetus in excelsis te laudat cœlitus omnis,
Et mortalis homo, et cuncta creata simul.
Cui puerile, &c.

Plebs hebrea tibi cum palmis obvia venit,
Cum prece, voto, ymmis assumus ecce tibi.
Gloria, &c.

Hi tibi passuro solvebant [illegible]ia laudis,
Nos tibi regnanti pa[illegible]s ecce melos.
Cui puerile, &c.

[illegible]uere tibi, placeat devotio nostra,
[illegible] pie, rex clemens cui bona cuncta placent.
Gloria, laus, &c.

Then follows a dra[illegible] representation of the entry of Our Saviour into Jerusalem, the text of which is as follows:—

Hic prosternant pueri ramos palmarum.
Antiphona: * Pueri Hebreorum tollentes ramos.

Hic exuant pueri vestem et deponant.
Antiphona: * Pueri Hebreorum vestimenta prost[ernentes].

Episcopus vel ejus vicepositus imponat hunc versum.
Versus: * O crux ave spes.

Hic prosternat se pastor ecclesiæ.
Antiphona: * Scriptum est enim percutiam p[astorem].

Hic prosternat se clerus et omnis populus.
* Fulgentibus palmis prostern[. . .].

Hæc antiphona redeundo cantetur: * Occurrunt turbæ cum floribus.

In ingressu civitatis:[11]

Responsum: * Ingrediente domino in sanctam civitatem Hebreorum pueri resurrectionem vitæ pronuncia[n]tes. Cum ramis palmarum osanna clamantes in exce[l]sis.

Versus: * Cumque audissent quia Jhesus venit Hierosolimam exierunt obviam ei. Cum r[esponso].

In introitu chori: * Circumdederunt me.
ad terciam, &c.
In vigilia cœnæ Domini ad vesperam, &c.
Cum penitentes introducuntur.

Quando crisma consecratur.[12]
Ad celebrandam cœnam Domini.
In Parascheve, Oratio, &c.

Salutatio crucis Græce et Latine.

The text of this is thus given:—

* Popule meus quid feci tibi aut in quo contristavi te responde michi quia eduxi te de terra Egipti, parasti crucem salvatori tuo * ΑΓΙΟC . Ο ΘΕΟC ΑΓΙΟC . ΙCΚΥΡOC . ΑΓΙΟC . ΑΘΑΝΑΘOC . ΕΛΕΥCΟΝ . ΥΜΑC.

Latine: * Sanctus Deus, Sanctus fortis, Sanctus immortalis, miserere nobis, &c.

In ostensione Sanctæ crucis cantetur ista antiphona:
Ista antiphona cantetur interim dum crux salutetur.
Versus Fortunati Episcopi: * Crux fidelis.
Et presbitero nectente fila cantetur Antiphona.
In sabbato sancto Paschæ, processio ad ignem benedicendum.
Altera autem processio precendendo interim cantet lataniam quinam.

[11] This seems as if there was a set scene of a city.

[12] The concluding portion of this set of verses has a rubric to this effect:—§ *Isti versus redeundo canentur.*

Sequitur benedictio cerei.
Legantur lectiones sine tytulis
Ea prolecta dicit prespiter absque salutatione.

Deinde vadant ad benedictionem fontis cum letania septena.

Postea recedunt cum letania trina quæ est ad introitum, &c., &c., &c.

This is followed by another curious interlocution between two sets of persons, perhaps two divisions of the choir, one representing angels or *Cœlicolæ*, the other *Christicolæ* or followers of Jesus Christ, who may have come to seek the body of their buried Lord. The text of this is as follows:—

Ad celebrandum resurrectionem.[13]
* Quem quæritis in sepulchro, O Christicolæ.

Christicolæ.
Versus : * Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, O cœlicolæ.

Responsio cœlicolarum.
Versus : * Non est hic ; surrexit, sicut prædixerat, ite nunciate quia surrexit de sepulchro.

In ostensione sepulchri.
Antiphona : * Venite, et videte locum ubi positus erat dominus, aeuia, aeuia.

Hæc antiphona cantetur a sepulchro revertendo.
Antiphona : * Dicant[14] nunc Judæi quo modo milites cus-

[13] The following direction to the priests is entered upon the outer margin of the folio (41, b.) :—Priusquam detur signum ad matutinas sacerdotes lavent manus suas, et facta confessione vadant ad sepulcrum cum Responso : "Domine quid," et antiphona : "Ego dor . . ." Recedendo dicatur antiphona : "Cum Rex, &c."

[14] This antiphon appears to point to the authorship if not of the whole arrangement of the service book, at least to a material part of

todientes sepulchrum prodiderunt regem ad lapidem positionis. Quare non servabant petram justitiæ aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum dicentes aevia aevia.

it. William of Malmesbury indicates the author of this antiphon in the following manner. In relating a miracle which took place at the abbey of Malmesbury he writes thus (*ed.* Hamilton, p. 440):—Jam Paschalis lætitiæ favor mentes mortalium hilaraverat; jamque secundo die peregrinos agebamus. *Cantabatur ille versus quo* FULBERTUS CARNOTENSIS EPISCOPUS *pulcherrima disjuncta Judeos convenerat, ut aut sepultum reddant Christum aut resurgentem adorent.* The identity of this sentence with the concluding words of the antiphon proves incontestably that the celebrated Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, was the author of the antiphon, and we may fairly conclude that he superintended, or at least took an active part in the preparation of these services. His works, as collected and published in the *Patrologiæ Cursus* edited by the Abbé Migne, contain, it is true, no mention or allusion to the fact of his having been so occupied, but the received accounts of his life state that he "*arranged the church services,*" and that his "*hymns and proses survived his own times even in the English Churches where they were publicly chanted.*" As the biography of this man is not universally known here, I venture to produce in an abbreviated form at this opportunity an interesting account of this remarkable man, originally given in the Bibliothéque Sacrée of Richard and Giraud, compiled from the writings of Trithemius, Bellarmine, Possevin, Baronius, Dupin, Dom. Cellier, and others:—"Fulbert, évêque de Chartres, était d'Italie, selon quelques uns; mais, selon d'autres on ne connâit ni ses parens, ni le lieu de sa naissance. On sait seulement qu'il fit ses études à Reims sous Gerbert, d'où il passa à Chartres pour présider à l'école de cette ville. Comme il avait l'esprit vif, aisé, pénétrant, il s'acquit bientôt la réputation du plus savant homme de son siècle, et son habilité lui attira de tous côtés des disciples, dont plusieurs furent élevés à l'épiscopat ou à d'autres dignités ecclésiastiques. Il possédait non seulement les belles-lettres et les sciences divines, autant qu'on le pouvait alors, mais encore la medicine. . . . . Il ouvrit une célèbre école de théologie, à laquelle on accourait de toute part, et il forma un si grand nombre de personnes dans les sciences divines et dans la piété, que presque tous les habiles gens de son temps se faisaient honneur d'avoir été ses disciples. Il fut fait évêque de Chartres en 1007 ou 1016 . . . . . Il prêchait la parole de Dieu, dressait des canons pour la pénitence, composait des hymnes, *disposait les offices divins;* réglait la discipline et les mœurs, répri-

Christicolæ.

Antiphona : * Surrexit dominus de sepulchro qui pro nobis pependit in ligno, aevia.

Chorus.

Antiphona : * Surrexit Christus, et illuxit populo suo quem redemit sanguine suo aevia.

mait tous les abus avec une douceur et une fermeté qui le faisaient également respecter et aimer. Il fut particulièrement considéré de Canut, roi d'Angleterre, de Richard II., duc de Normandie, de Guillaume, duc d'Aquitaine, de Robert, roi de France, qui le consultait souvent. . . . . Il mourut comblé de mérites la veille du jeudi-saint, le 10 d'Avril de l'an 1028, ou selon d'autres, le 10 Janvier de l'an 1029, comme nous l'avons dit en parlant de lui parmi les évêques de Chartres. . . . . Il a laissé divers monuments de sa doctrine que consistent en neuf sermons ; un pénitentiel fort abrégé, un recueil de passages de l'Ecriture sur la Trinité, l'Incarnation, et l'Eucharistie ; des hymnes, des proses, quelques autres poésies, et cent trente-huit lettres, mais qui ne sont pas toutes de lui. . . . . Les lettres de Fulbert sont beaucoup supérieures à ses autres ouvrages . . . . il y fait paraître . . . . une grande connaissance des dogmes et de la discipline de l'Eglise. . . . . " After describing the letters and prose pieces in detail the authors go on to mention " un invitatoire avec des répons pour la fête de saint Gilles," composed by Fulbert, as also " une prière à Dieu ; des litanies ; trois hymnes, *une sur les rois Mages*, une sur le Saint-Esprit, la derniére sur la fête de Pâque.

" Casimir Oudin ayant découvert dans l'abbaye de Long-Pont, ordre de Cîteaux, diocèse de Soissons, un traité de Fulbert sur ces paroles du douzième chapitre des Actes : ' En ce temps-là le roi Hérode employa sa puissance pour maltraiter quelques-uns de l'Église ; ' le fit imprimer en 1692, à Leyde. . . . . "

Mention is then made of several other works of this bishop, the editions in existence, and the contemporary notices of his religious and literary worth, and the notice concludes with the following remarkable passage. " Les ouvrages de Fulbert justifient ces éloges. Ses lettres sont écrites avec beaucoup de grâces et d'esprit, d'un style aisé et délicat . . . . Exact observateur des canons pour lui même, il les faisait observer aux autres sans se laisser fléchir aux prières des grands en faveur des prévaricateurs et au préjudice de la loi. . . . *Ses hymnes et ses proses passèrent dans son siècle même à l'usage des églises d'Angleterre, où on les chantait publiquement.*"

Christicolæ.

Antiphona : * Surrexit enim sicut dixit dominus et precedet vos in Galileam aevia, ibi eum videbitis aevia aevia aevia aevia.

Chorus.

* Te deum laudamus.

Passing by in silence a large quantity of most interesting matter, which, though fully worthy of publication, is foreign to the scope of this paper, I now come to the last proposition, which is to identify the cathedral and diocese wherein the service-book was employed.

Two methods of solving the question present themselves to the inquirer, and either of these, rightly followed up, leads indubitably to the conviction that Strasbourg, at that time subject to the French, is the original home of this manuscript.

1. At folio 73 occurs a specially arranged service for the Natale or anniversary of the death of St. Arbogastus, in which the sentences here given form part of an anthem :—". . . . Quapropter venerandi hujus suffragia imploremus. Habebimus nimirum apud Deum intercessorem *quem specialem meruimus pastorem.*" Saint Arbogastus here indicated as the especial pastor of the community with whom the book was in use was bishop of Strasbourg in A.D. 630. He occupied the see, according to the best received accounts of that obscure period, from about 641 to 668 ; by his prayers he cured Sigismund, son of Dagobert, king of the Franks, when wounded by a wild boar in the chase. The grateful king accumulated so many treasures for the enrichment of Strasbourg Cathedral, that he is reputed the founder.

St. Arbogastus is also mentioned by this manuscript in a metrical litany during the rogation days, in these terms:—

> "Arbogaste patrone, Florentique pariter,
> Vos cum confessoribus adjuvate precibus."

St. Florentius succeeded St. Arbogastus in the see of Strasbourg. Particulars concerning him may be read in the "Acta Sanctorum" *Ed.* Surius, under November 7, and in Rettberg's "Deutschlands Kirchengeschichte," vol. ii., p. 65.

2. St. Aurelia has a special day and service set apart for her laudation, and at folio 54 *b* the following rubric is placed:—*In diebus rogationum feria secunda processio fiat ad sanctam Aureliam.* This sainted virgin was especially identified with Strasbourg, and a critical account of her life and death will be found in the "Acta Sanctorum," Brussels, 1845, 15th October, vol. viii., pp. 27–31, and in Hunckler's "Histoire des Saints d'Alsace, p. 443. The first-mentioned work quotes from an ancient martyrology, containing these words:—"Idus Octobris Aureliæ Virginis," which Schoepflinus, in his work entitled "Alsatia Illustrata," i., 341, thus illustrates:—"Aureliæ Virginis cujusdam Argentoratenses ab antiquo coluerunt memoriam, quod Martyrologium illud Argentinense, sæculo viii. vel ix. in ecclesiarum Alsaticarum usus conscriptum, demonstrat, ... nec dubium quin templum Aurelianum ab hac nomen acceperit." Hunckler, however, attributes the church of St. Aurelia at Strasbourg to Bishop Ruthardus, who died in the middle of the tenth century.

XIV.—THE USE OF THE COINS OF KAMARINA IN ILLUSTRATION OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH OLYMPIAN ODES OF PINDAR.

BY REGINALD STUART POOLE.

(Read January 22nd, 1873.)

THE most important silver coins of Kamarina in Sicily, ranging in date from about B.C. 461 to 405, have for their reverse-type a quadriga accompanied by a flying Nike about to crown the charioteer or the horses. The question which I here propose to answer is, whether this reverse-type refers to the same event as the Fourth Olympian Ode of Pindar, which records the victory in the chariot-race of Psaumis of Kamarina during the same period.

Before, however, this question can be answered, two preliminary ones must be settled. What is the date of the victory commemorated by the ode, and are Olympic and other agonistic victories ever represented on coins?

The Fourth and Fifth Olympian Odes are both inscribed to Psaumis the Kamarinaian, but the latter part of the titles in which the victories are specified is obscure. According to Boeckh, the heading of both is, "To Psaumis the Kamarinaian with the mule-car." Tycho Mommsen, on the evidence of the manu-

scripts, heads the Fourth Ode, "with the chariot" (ἅρματι), and the Fifth, "with the mule-car." In this case Boeckh had no manuscript authority, and therefore it was only after some hesitation that he introduced the new reading in the title of the Fourth Ode. Had this reading been rendered necessary by the evidence of the poem itself, Mommsen would not have refused it. After carefully examining Boeckh's arguments, I prefer that reading which rests on positive evidence and ascribes to Psaumis a victory with the chariot.

The date of the victory must fall within narrow limits. Kamarina was rebuilt B.C. 461; at the Olympic festival of B.C. 460, Arkesilaos, king of Kyrene, was victor with the chariot. Pindar died in B.C. 442. This leaves us the festivals of B.C. 456, 452, 448, and 444. The subject of the Fifth Ode, the victory with the mule-car, was won in a different year (Ol. v. 7). The contest with the mule-car was suppressed in B.C. 444. We have, therefore, for the victory of the Fourth Ode the festivals of B.C. 456, 452, and 448. The last date is probably too long after the rebuilding of Kamarina; for in the Fifth Ode the actual construction of the city is stated to be in progress at the time of the return of the victor, and two journeys are unlikely. The scholiasts make Psaumis victor B.C. 452, but as they confuse the two victories we cannot tell to which of these the authority from which their statement is derived really referred. We have thus for limits in the case of the Fourth Ode the nine years B.C. 456 to 448 inclusive.

The question, Are Olympic and other agonistic

victories ever commemorated on coins, can be answered by positive evidence. Two instances can be cited in which the direct statements of ancient writers that Olympic victories were thus commemorated are emphatically confirmed by the evidence of coins contemporary with the events. Aristotle states that Anaxilaos, tyrant of Rhegion, having gained a victory at Olympia with the mule-car, struck coins for Rhegion with the mule-car as one of their types. Accordingly we find on coins of Rhegion and of Messana, which was equally ruled by Anaxilaos, this very type, a car drawn by two mules and driven by a charioteer. This type begins at both towns at a time which is unquestionably that of Anaxilaos, as we learn by comparison with the money of Syracuse and other Sicilian towns under Gelon and Hieron.

The second instance is furnished by the statement of Plutarch, that Philip of Macedon represented his Olympic victories with chariots on his coins. (Alex. 4.) Accordingly the reverse-type of Philip's gold staters is a biga with its charioteer. It is unfortunate that Plutarch is not more definite as to the "victories" of which he speaks, but the point for us is how he interpreted the type of Philip's coins, a currency with which he must have been well acquainted.

Far more remarkable is a case in which there is not the same precise literary evidence, but where that of the coins is too positive to be neglected. Plutarch, speaking of Alexander's birth, B.C. 356, mentions two other fortunate events of which Philip received the news on the same day, and of these one was a victory in the horse-race at Olympia. (Alex. 3.) Philip's earlier silver didrachms bear as their reverse-

type an old Macedonian hero on horseback. After a time there is a striking change. The rough old cavalry horse gives place to a typical Greek racer, with a fillet bound across his forehead; the mythical rider is superseded by a diminutive jockey, holding in his right hand the victor's palm.

There can therefore be no doubt that certain Olympic victories were commemorated at the period when they occurred on coins very far apart in time and place, on the coins, namely, of Anaxilaos of Rhegion and Philip of Macedon. Further, we have reason to believe that the coin-representations refer to particular victories, not to the general fact of success at Olympia. These instances are, however, not sufficient to establish a general rule as to the motive with which all such types were chosen. We must examine all these types known to us, in order to determine whether they have a common agonistic meaning, and again whether their relation is limited to the Olympic games. The following table exhibits in the simplest shape the data for forming a judgment. In it I have given all the types afforded by the Museum collection, under the cities by which they were struck. The limit of time is from the beginning of coinage to the accession of Alexander the Great. The subjects are those which seem *primâ facie* to refer to the races with the chariots, mule-car, and single horse. Other possible agonistic types, especially the representations of Nike alone, I have excluded. The types are generally described to the exclusion of small varieties. The other type of the coin is only noticed when it appears to have relation to the regular agonistic type. It should be observed

that this principal type first occupies the obverse, afterwards the reverse. I have placed the coins of Syracuse at the head, as affording a key to the coins of other Sicilian cities. Rhegion is associated with Messana, as the earliest coins cited of both were struck by Anaxilaos their common ruler.

TABLE OF TYPES.

I. SYRACUSE.

1. Period of Oligarchy.

	Remarks.
Quadriga. (4 dr.)	
Horseman with two horses. (2 dr.)	

2. Dynasty of Gelon.

Quadriga; Nike above. (4 dr.)	
Horseman with two horses. (2 dr.)	
„ „ Nike above. (2 dr.)	
„ (dr.)	
Wheel. (Obol or litra.)	
(The two following types interrupt the series.)	
Quadriga; Nike above. (10 dr. 4 dr.)	Rev. Head of Nike, crowned with olive.
Wheel. (Obol or litra.)	„

3. Period of Democracy.

Quadriga; Nike above. (4 dr.)	
Horseman. (dr.)	
Wheel. (½ litra or ½ obol.)	

4. Dynasty of Dionysios.

Quadriga; Nike above; charioteer male. (4 dr.)	
„ „ „ beneath horses, fallen meta. (4 dr.)	
„ „ „ beneath horses, wheel. (4 dr.)	

	Remarks.
ke above; charioteer Eros ? (4	
„ „ charioteer female. (10 dr.)	In exergue arms and AΘAA.
„ „ „ (4 dr.)	Sometimes in ex. wheel.
„ „ charioteer Persephone, bearing torch. (4 dr.)	
„ „ charioteer unce dr.)	

II. AKRAGA

PERIOD OF DE

adriga; Nike above; cha nale. ([10 dr.] 4 dr.)

„ charioteer Nike. (4 d

III. KAMA

PERIOD OF DEMOCR

adriga; Nike above; chariotee 'allas.	Sometimes in ex. two [or three] amphoræ. One: obv. symbol, olive-sprig.

IV. KATANA.

PERIOD OF DEMOCRACY.

Quadriga (4 dr.)	
„ Nike above (4 dr. dr.)	
„ „ (4 dr.)	One: obv. symbol, laurel-sprig.
„ „ (4 dr.)	Do. parsley-leaf.
„ „ chariot passing meta. (4 dr.)	

V. GELA.

I. DYNASTY OF HIPPOKRATES AND GELON.

Quadriga; Nike above. (4 dr.)

„ passing meta. (4 dr.)

Horse, wreath above. (Litra or obol.)

	Remarks.
Wheel. (Litra or obol.)	
Quadriga; Nike above. (4 dr.)	
„ wreath above. (4 dr.)	
„ „ charioteer Nike. (4 dr.)	
„ eagle above; charioteer Nike. (4 dr.)	
„ „; charioteer male. (4 dr.)	

VI. HIMERA.

1. Under Hieron.

Quadriga; Nike above. (4 dr.)	
Horseman dismounting. (2 dr.)	

2. Period of Democracy.

Quadriga; Nike above. (4 dr.)	

VII. LEONTINI.

Dynasty of Hippokrates and Gelon.

Quadriga; Nike above. (4 dr.)	Rev. Head of Nike, crowned with olive; around, laurel-leaves.
„ „ (4 dr.)	Rev. Similar head, smaller; around, barleycorns.
„ „ (4 dr.)	Rev. Usual type.
Horseman. (2 dr.)	
„ (dr.)	

VIII. MESSANA.

1. Under Anaxilaos.

Mule-car; Nike above. (4 dr.)	In exergue, olive-leaf.
„ (4 dr.)	„

2. Period of Democracy.

Mule-car. (4 dr.)	Sometimes in ex. olive-leaf.

	Remarks.
	Rev. eagle above type.
le-car; Nike above. (4 dr.)	Sometimes in ex. olive-sprig.
	„ rev. symbol olive sprig.
	„ rev. eagle below type.
„ „	Rev. type within olive-wreath.
	Sometimes in ex. olive-leaf.
	Small coins: rev. types within olive-wreaths.

IX. RHEGI(

I. Under An[illegible]s.

le-car. (4 dr.)	In ex. olive-leaf.
„ (4 dr. dr.)	

The olive-wreath and olive-sprig are the only indications on later coins.

X. SEGESTA.

Quadriga; Nike above; charioteer Persephone. (4 dr.)

XI. SELINUS.

Period of Democracy.

Quadriga of Apollo and Artemis. (4 dr.)
„ „ wreath above. (4 dr.)
„ „ male charioteer. (dr.)

XII. TARAS.

A great variety of types relating to victories with the single horse. and horse exercises.

XIII. KYRENE.

	Remarks.
Quadriga (gold stater).	One: obv. Olympian Zeus.
„ charioteer Nike (gold stater).	
Horseman (hemi-stater).	
„ ($\frac{1}{8}$ stater).	

XIV. PHILIP II. OF MACEDON.

Biga (gold stater).
Horse with fillet bound round his forehead, ridden by jockey carrying palm (silver stater).

This table shows at the first glance the general agonistic intention of the types in question: Nike is almost everywhere present on them; the chariots are sometimes represented at the critical moment of passing the goal; a divinity frequently takes the place of the charioteer. The frequent occurrence of the olive indicates that most of these subjects refer to the greatest contest, that of Olympia. But this seems to hint that there was a necessity for a distinctive symbol, and the laurel-sprig and parsley-leaf at Katana may show the rule not to have been without exception. We may, however, safely conclude that most of these types refer to the Olympic Games, provided this result will stand the test of the literary evidence we can bring to bear upon it.

The records of the Olympic Games are very scanty, except as to the winner of the foot-race, whose name was always chosen to mark the epoch. We know but few names of the winners of the contests now under consideration, and there is sometimes a confusion between the different chariot-races; at

other times the date is not stated. Happily, however, Pindar lived about the time when most of the coin-types of our table begin, and commemorated the success of several winners in the chariot- and horse-races at the great games. Let us now confront the literary evidence as to these contests with the numismatic evidence given in the foregoing table.

The first group of Syracusan coins cited are anterior to the rule of Gelon and Hieron. Gelon conquered as a citizen of Gela B.C. 488 in the chariot-race at Olympia, and Hieron at the same contest in the horse-race, these events occurring before the rule of Gelon at Syracuse, and it is possible that he recorded them on the new coinage, of which the famous Demaretion is the best-known instance. The chariot-victory would be well represented by the type which has on the obverse the head of Nike crowned with olive, a temporary modification of the old type. I cannot satisfactorily account for the type of a horseman with two horses. It is not impossible that this type was adopted for the didrachm, as the horse for the drachm, and the four horses for the tetradrachm. There must, however, have been a special ground for the original choice of the type. It is to be observed in support of this opinion that it is peculiar to Syracuse. At Leontini we have but the horseman for both didrachm and drachm. Does the earlier type at Syracuse refer to an earlier form of the race with the κέλης, in the Homeric sense?

History throws no light on the subsequent types until the time of Dionysios I. To this tyrannos the mass of Syracusan coins of the most beautiful style in all probability belong. The proof of this is easy.

His rule began at the time of the great Carthaginian invasion which destroyed the chief cities of Sicily west of Syracuse. The very latest coins of these western cities are of the same style as those of Syracuse, which we assign to Dionysios. Yet the few engravers' names occurring on the coins of the cities in question (at Akragas and Kamarina) are different, with one exception, from any of the numerous names that occur on the similar Syracusan coins. At Katana, which was not destroyed, we find the engraver common to Syracuse. It is therefore evident that those beautiful Syracusan coins which present the greatest variety of chariot-types were struck by Dionysios; yet he failed at Olympia. It was during the siege of Rhegion, in B.C. 388, that he contended with the quadriga. When his chariots reached Olympia, Lysias the orator, who happened to be there, made a speech against him; the competitors combined and his chariots were driven out of line or broken in pieces. The incident of the fallen meta, which occurs on a coin we should assign to this very time, looks not unlike a commemoration of an unfair defeat. The subject is unmistakable. The horses are in disorder, under their hoofs is the fallen meta, and the charioteer looks anxiously back. On another coin of similar style the wheel of a shipwrecked car is beneath the horses and a rein flies loose. The loose rein is observable in other types. Thus, although we might otherwise have maintained that Dionysios merely continued a traditional type, sufficiently known in commerce to have been largely copied by the Carthaginians of his very age, we are forced by the remarkable modifications of this type to

the conclusion that he commemorated his defeat as a victory. Hence, perhaps, the armour placed as a "reward" on the dekadrachms; for it is not unlikely that a pomp was given on the return of the chariots and prizes distributed. These athla, like the lion of Chaironeia, commemorate a defeat.

The earliest Akragantine victory with the four-horse chariot of which we know, is that of the tyrant Theron, B.C. 476, commemorated by Pindar. Of this there is no trace on the contemporary coins, unless the eagle, as afterwards on coins of Elis, by being placed upon a capital, that of the meta, indicates a victory. The chariot-type is full half a century later, and if it does not recall Theron's victory may well refer to another gained in the democratic period by a competitor whose name is lost.

The case of the coins of Kamarina is quite in harmony with the evidence of Pindar's Fourth Ode. The victory is Olympic, for the olive-sprig occurs on one coin; the charioteer is Pallas, for it would be hardly consistent with the spirit of democracy to represent Psaumis who drove the chariot; the amphoræ I cannot explain, unless they represent amphoræ filled with sacred oil given as rewards to the victors; the first occurrence of the type is about the time of the victory, and the type continues till the downfall of the power of the city. There is an earlier agonistic type, which I shall notice when describing the coins of the town.

Katana throws curious light upon the whole question. Here we have the laurel-sprig, and apparently the parsley-leaf, on two coins of precisely the same style, as though indicating a Pythian and an Isthmian

or Nemean victory. These coins are of the democratic period. During the previous rule of the family of Gelon, Hieron, as a citizen of the place, gained a Pythian victory, B.C. 474; and, in the same manner, the Syracusan Chromios gained a Nemean, in 473. A great difficulty, however, arises. Hieron, in B.C. 476, had changed the name of Katana to Aitna, constituting himself oikist. On the overthrow of his dynasty, B.C. 461, the colonists were driven out and the old name restored. The tomb of Hieron was destroyed at the same time. Is it likely then that Hieron and another Aitnaian of his party should have done anything which the Katanaians would afterwards commemorate? This question may be answered by another. Is it likely that a city once made illustrious at the great games would ever drop that distinction?

Of the types of Gela, the earliest one may be of the time of Hippokrates, whose name is characteristic of an aristocratic family delighting in horsemanship. But Gelon, in B.C. 488, won the chariot-race as a citizen of Gela, and to this event we may more reasonably assign the earliest coins with the chariot-type. The Geloians, it must also be remembered, had a treasury at Olympia.

Himera, though otherwise contending at Olympia, we do not know to have won in the chariot-race, unless indeed by Theron of Akragas.

The coins of Leontini with agonistic types appear to begin with the rule of Gelon, and the first I have cited is remarkable from its resemblance to the Gelonian coins of Syracuse equally with the head of Nike. I am disposed to think that the laurel-leaves in this instance are sacred to the local Apollo, not

Pythian, and that this and the other similar coins refer to the Olympic victories of the Gelonian dynasty. It is certain, from the next instance, that a victory could be commemorated by two towns when the name of but one was proclaimed.

The connection of the coins of Messana and Rhegion with the victory of Anaxilaos has been already noticed. It may, however, be added that the evidence of these coins shows the care often taken to distinguish the special festival, whether Olympic, Pythian, or other, here indicated by the leaf or sprig of olive, and the irregularity with which the commemoration was continued, the type lasting at Messana, whereas at Rhegion it gave way to the olive-wreath and the olive-sprig.

As to Segesta I have found no evidence. Selinus, however, had a treasury at Olympia. The types of this city are peculiar rather than exceptional.

The types of Taras, unquestionably referring to agonistic subjects, can only be properly discussed in a separate essay. They are *sui generis*. It is by no means impossible that those local games in which Taras strove to rival Olympia may here be intended. Almost all the signs of the great contest are wanting, and unexpected incidents are introduced. Here, in fact, it would seem that we have to do with the circus rather than the stadion, and with military exercises rather than with sacred games.

At Kyrene the evidence is once more positive. Arkesilaos IV. won the chariot-race at Olympia in B.C. 460. The coins with chariot-types are probably half a century later, and one of them is most remarkable for the occurrence on its obverse of the Olympian

Zeus, in the place of Zeus Ammon. On the horseman-type I can throw no light.

Philip's coins have been already noticed.

On a survey of the types described we find that their first occurrence is in several instances coincident with Olympic victories, and that there is evidence in the case of others of similar coincidence in time with victories at other great games. Some details of the subject have still to be examined. For instance, the double commemoration of one victory by Messana and Rhegion proves that more than one city could be interested in a single contest, yet other evidence, like that of the Aitnaian victories of Hieron's time, seems to point to a contrary usage. Probably the truth is that where personal influence predominated, commemoration at more than one city was possible, unless the tyrannos chose otherwise. One other point requires a fuller explanation here. In order to give the stamp of authority to the coins, the Greeks allowed no subjects to be represented except such as were religious. It was only under the colour of religion that, after a long struggle, portraits even of kings were admitted. It may then seem surprising that so personal a matter as an agonistic success should appear on the coinage, and that it should do so even as early as the time of Anaxilaos. But a little closer examination dispels this difficulty. The great games were not only religious but national. Any one who gained success at them distinguished his native place above the rest of Hellas. Yet so strict was the exclusion of personal representation that the victor in the foot-race or in the pentathlon could not possibly be represented on the coinage.

In the horse-race, the races of chariots, and that of the mule-car, as we have seen, direct representation was permitted, not indeed of the victor at whose cost the contest had been won, but of the horse with its rider, the chariot with its charioteer. It may be noticed, however, that in such representations it is usual in the best period of art for a divinity to take the place of a charioteer. Any other agonistic victory could only be symbolically represented, and of such representation I believe the earliest coins of Kamarina actually afford an instance. It should here be noted that the chariot- and horse-races were contests in which the rich only could take a part, and thus representations of them are abundant in certain groups of Greek money. It is only under aristocratic or tyrannical government that these types begin on the coinage. We find them on the money of Akragas, Kamarina, Katana, Gela, Himera, Leontini, Messana, Segesta, Selinus, and Syracuse, the Italian Rhegion, Kyrene, and Macedon under Philip, in every case originating under monarchical or aristocratic government, and we find them nowhere else. The use of these subjects is very obvious; they recorded the honour that had been gained for the city, and they equally celebrated the person at whose cost this had been done. The chariot-type may represent, as Mr. Newton suggests, an ἀνάθημα, which could well have been the case with types connected with victories of Gelon and Hieron, as well as wherever the city of which a citizen won the race had a treasury at Olympia, or dedicated at other places.

I now describe the principal silver coins of Kamarina from the specimens in the British Museum.

FIRST PERIOD, B.C. 495–485.

1. KAMARI NAION. Pallas, standing l., wearing ægis and crested helmet, and resting on spear; in front of her, shield.

R. Nike, flying, l., wearing long chiton; at her feet, swan, l.; all within olive-wreath.

13 gr. Æ. 45.

SECOND PERIOD, B.C. 461–405.

2. Corinthian helmet, l., upon round shield.

R. KAMA ꓤI. Dwarf fan-palm with fruit; on either side greave; all in circular incuse.

129·4 gr. Æ. 8.

3. KAMARINAOIN. Head of bearded Herakles, l., in lion's skin.

R. Fast quadriga, l., driven by Pallas; above, Nike, r., crowning charioteer.

233·6 gr. Æ. 1.

4. KAMAPINAION. Head of young Herakles, l., in lion's skin.

R. Fast quadriga, r., driven by Pallas; above Nike, l., about to crown charioteer; on band of exergue ΕΞΑΚΕΣΤΙΔΑΣ; in exergue, two amphoræ.

264·2 gr. Æ. 1.

5. KAMAPINAI ΩN. Same type; in front, olive-sprig.

R. Similar type; in exergue, barleycorn.

260·5 gr. Æ. 1·1.

6. Young head of river Hipparis, with calf's horns on forehead, three-quarter face, toward l.; on neck EYAI; on either side, fish downwards: all within border of waves.

R. KAM A. Nymph Kamarina seated on swan, l., holding her veil as a sail and passing over water; behind and beneath, a fish.

122·8 gr. Æ. 9.

7. ꓘ ꓵꓭ ꓶ Young head of river Hipparis, l.; on either side a fish, upwards.

R. Similar type; no waves; around, three fishes.

132 grs. Æ. 9.

8. KAMAPINAIO N. Similar head, but hair short, and diademed; beneath, VA?

R. KAMAPINA. Similar type, varied; beneath, waves, amid which, fish.

27·8 grs. Æ. 9.

9. Head of nymph, three-quarter face, towards l.; on either side fish, upwards.

R. KAM API. Nike? holding fillet and herald's staff, flying l.

60·6 gr.? Æ. 7.

10. ΑΝΙϟΑ . . .? Head of nymph, l., wearing sphendone.

Swan flying l., over waves; beneath, fish.

10·3 grs. Æ. 45.

Nothing could be more striking than the agreement of the representations on the coins of the second period with the words of the poet. With both, the nymph Kamarina holds the foremost but not the highest place, in the local worship; with both, Pallas is the tutelary divinity; with both, the reverence for the river Hipparis is associated with that for the sacred lake. As a probable minor agreement, we observe Nike taking the form of Eirene, which may confirm Süverns and Boeckh's reading of Ὧραι for ὧραι in Ol. iv. 1. The only cases of want of correspondence are that on the coins we find Herakles as a leading object of worship, and in the odes, Zeus, probably Zeus Soter.

The coins of the first period, before Pindar's time, of which one specimen heads the list, must still be discussed. Here we have Nike again, and within an olive-wreath. Is not this the same Olympic commemoration in another form? I think that the reference is different, for there is nothing indicating horse or chariot. Surely the type may refer to the Olympic victory of Parmenides of Kamarina, who won the foot-race in B.C. 528, and was consequently the eponymous victor of that Olympiad. The date of these coins, judging from their style, would be towards the close of the 6th century B.C.; but, if we are to believe implicitly what historians tell us of Kamarina, they must have been first struck not before the earliest years of the next century, when the ruined city was rebuilt. Taking this as the safer view, and attributing them to the period during which Kamarina was ruled by Hippokrates and Gelon, they would have been struck when the memory of the victory of Parmenidas

was yet fresh. The olive-wreath is undoubtedly Olympic; the character of Nike on the coins is at this time pacific. Dr. Imhoof-Blumer[1] has abundantly shown that before Alexander's time this goddess on coins is the goddess of peaceful, not of warlike, victory. It is not till Alexander's time that what we may call the modern idea of victory is developed in these monuments. Assuming, therefore, this to be an Olympic victory connected with Kamarina, what Olympic victory would have been more in the heart of the people than that which was gained by one of themselves, born in the period of the city's first prosperity, who claimed the greatest honour Hellas could bestow for his birthplace, which, if not then in ruins, could at best have been maintaining a precarious existence.

[1] Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen. Wien. Num. Zeitschr. 1871.

XV.—ON SHAKESPEARE'S TRADITIONAL BIRTHDAY.

BY C. M. INGLEBY, LL.D., FOR. SEC.

(Read May 17th, 1871.)

THE birth of Shakespeare is, I believe, universally celebrated on the 23rd April. The tradition on which the celebrants rely is, that he was born on the 23rd April, 1564, Old Style; and it is somewhat discomforting to precisians to learn that in Shakespeare's day the New Style, (which was not then observed in England), was ten days in advance of the Old; and that there is now a difference of twelve days between them: so that the 23rd April, O.S., was in 1564 the 3rd May, N.S.; a date which at the present time corresponds to the 5th May, N.S. It has accordingly been made a question whether we should noe celebrate the occasion on either the 3rd or the 5th May, in every year.

I refer to this question, which springs out of the difference of Style, not for the purpose of attempting to settle it, but simply because it has been so often asserted that Shakespeare and Cervantes died on the same day: the fact being that Shakespeare survived Cervantes ten days.

It is even more discomforting to the punctual keeper of birthdays to find that the tradition of Shakespeare's birth on the 23rd April, 1564, O.S., cannot be traced to any authentic source. The

student of Shakespeare-biography soon becomes inured to scepticism. One cherished fact after another falls before the scythe of criticism, till only a small and unimportant residue remains. In sheer despair of ascertaining facts, the majority of biographers have been content to weave a tissue of fictions. The most trustworthy memoirs of the bard are those which support the meagre text by a formidable array of foot-notes, adduced in disproof of nearly everything that forms the very staple of the old biographies

Such work is like pulling down a National Gallery to make room for a peep-show. There is, indeed, some little proof of Shakespeare's lineage; and he himself seems to have been born in the year 1564 at the traditional birthplace. But having launched our hero on that "sea of troubles" which every mortal has to navigate as best he may,—some to reach the wished-for haven, some, on shoal or quicksand, like the headstrong man in Æschylus, to perish unwept, unknown (ἄκλαυστος, αἴστος),—we lose sight of the poet to obtain a few partial and isolated glimpses of his outer life: but in the hands of biographers, these glimpses become the more shining parts of "a round *and* varnished tale." I, too, can find pleasure in the creations of a semi-prophetic ingenuity; but I cannot treat those creations as historical facts.

> "Sunt et mihi carmina; me quoque dicunt
> Vatem pastores; sed non ego credulus illis."

It would occupy too much time and paper if I were to sift, in detail, the traditional life of Shakespeare: but I may at least indicate a few points, besides that of the birthday, which are repeated by

almost every biographer, and which have hitherto remained unsupported by any satisfactory evidence.

1. We are told that Shakespeare "had been in his younger yeares a schoolmaster in the country." We get that scrap of news from conscientious John Aubrey, whose manuscript (circa 1680) is in the Ashmolean collection; and Aubrey says he got it from Mr. Beeston. This was probably William Beeston, Governor of "the King and Queen's young Company of Players", who lost his office in 1640, and was then succeeded by D'Avenant.

2. We are told further that Shakespeare had been formerly "bound apprentice to a butcher" in Stratford, but ran away from his master. We get that from a letter dated the 10th April, 1693, written by a Mr. Dowdall to a Mr. Edward Southwell. Who they were we do not know: but we know that this Mr. Dowdall professed to have obtained it from the Parish Clerk of Stratford, who was at that time over 80 years of age. His testimony, after all, was, probably, but ill-remembered gossip.

3. We are further told that, in all likelihood, Shakespeare had been to school; but we have no evidence whatever of the fact. Mr. J. O. Halliwell (Phillipps), in his 'Life of Shakespeare,' 1848, p. 92, makes no question of Shakespeare having been educated at the Stratford Grammar School, and naïvely remarks:—

"It would be a very difficult task to identify the exact position of the room in which Shakespeare was educated."

But it would not be a whit more difficult to identify the exact position in that room of the form on which Shakespeare sat! It is all one, surely, since we really

do not know that he ever attended that school, or any other. If he did go to school, I make no doubt that, according to the estimate of the day, he was accounted a shocking dunce; that many a time and oft he felt the remorseless "bob" of the village pedagogue, and took his stand on a stool in the corner of the school-room, with the ignominious ensign of dunce-dom on his head. If, as Mr. Harness fancifully conjectures, he was lame, he may have contracted his lameness through the caning of his master or the tunding of his elders in the school! Anyhow, we may be quite sure that he was severely birched, if not for his pains, at least for his brains; just as at a later period, Goldsmith and Byron were punished as incurable dunces, and the immortal Gauss was flogged for his audacity in solving an arithmetical problem before the rest of the school had taken it down. It is pleasant to indulge in such picturesque imaginings; but imagination is not biography.

4. As to another tradition in Shakespeare's life, viz. the deer-stealing episode, I am disposed with De Quincey, to discredit it altogether, and even to treat it as a myth invented to account for Shakespeare's seeming animosity toward Sir Thomas Lucy. My late lamented friend, Charles Holte Bracebridge, following the lead of Malone, has apparently settled the question, and proved that Charlecote Park was *not* a deer preserve,[1] and that to have sported at

[1] Since writing this, Mr. J. O. Phillipps has called my attention to a curious entry in *The Egerton Papers*, 4to, 1840, p. 355, where, among the "List of Presents at Harefield," in the year 44 Elizabeth, we read:

vj^{s} viij^{d} Bucke, j . . . . . Sir Tho. Lucie.

taking that for what it is worth, it fails to disprove Mr. Bracebridge's conclusion.

Fulbroke would *not* have been a breach of the law. The tale, after all, rests on a manuscript of the Rev. William Fulman, who died in 1688. Fulman having bequeathed it to the Rev. Richard Davies, and died, that gentleman recorded the story on the manuscript in his own handwriting. Mr. Davies died in 1708; and the manuscript is now in Corpus Christi College, Oxford. How he obtained the story he does not tell us.

5. Lastly, we are told that when Shakespeare did get to London, he earned a livelihood by holding horses at the doors of the theatres. I fear that is a myth too. We get the story from the anonymous author of 'The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland, 1753,' and he says he obtained it from a gentleman whose name he does not give. But after these two anonyms we get on a little better: for anonym the second is said to have heard it from Dr. Newton; and it is further said that Newton got it from Pope; and that Pope got it from Rowe; and that Rowe got it—with a mass of similar rubbish—from Betterton the actor; and that Betterton got it from Sir Thomas D'Avenant: but there we lose the scent. Of such hearsays is our life of Shakespeare manufactured.

After this somewhat long exordium, I turn to the principal subject of my paper. Our authorities for the dates of Shakespeare's birth and death are these:—(1) the register of his baptism; (2) the register of his burial; (3) the inscription on the tablet under his bust in the chancel of Stratford Church; (4) some manuscript notes of Oldys' on Langbaine's 'Account of the English Dramatic Poets,' 1691; and (5) manuscript notes by the Rev. Joseph

Greene, master of the Grammar School at Stratford, on some extracts from the Stratford register. I give exact copies of all these.

1.—Extract from Register of Baptisms at Stratford Church:—

1564
April
26 Gulielmus filius Johannes Shakspere.

2.—Extract from Register of Burials at Stratford Church:—

1616
April
25 Will Shakspere, Gent.

3.—Inscription on the tablet under Shakespeare's bust (in the lower right-hand corner):—

OBIIT ANO DOI 1616
ÆTATIS, 53. DIE 23 AP.

4.—Certain MS. notes on Langbaine (1691), by Oldys (in the British Museum):—

See the Sculpture and Inscription in Dugdale's Warwickshire.

Obiit An. Dom. 1616
53
Æt. 53. die 23 Apr. 1563
* * * *
I have now no more to do, but to close up all, with an account of his Death; which was on the
Q 23rd of April, 1616.[2]

5.—MS. notes, in the handwriting of Rev. Joseph

[2] The black ink represents Langbaine's text, the red letter Oldys' notes and lines. The mark opposite the last underwritten line may be the figure 2 or the letter Q. I think it is the latter, and that its function is to express his doubt as to the relative date.

Greene, on some extracts from the Stratford Register:—

"Died at the age of 53" (on the burial item, as in 2).
"Born April 23, 1564" (on the baptismal item, as in 1).

Boswell, the son of Johnson's biographer, who completed Malone's life of Shakespeare, doubtless had most of these materials before him when he drew the following inference:—

"He died on his birthday, April 23rd, 1616, and had exactly completed his fifty-second year."

But this is not in strict accord with the authorities. If we accept the testimony of the insculpture, we need not disallow that of Greene's second note. That Shakespeare was born on or before the 26th April, 1564, we must allow; for he was baptized on that day; and we can only bring the insculpture into disagreement with the tradition by supposing that Shakespeare was born on the 24th, the 25th, or the 26th: then, indeed, he would have been still in his 52nd year when he died.

The use which has been made of Oldys' notes is a curious and instructive example of the untrustworthiness of critics. As far as my search has extended, all the biographers who cite Oldys misrepresent what he wrote, and as a climax the late Mr. Bolton Corney is elaborate in misrepresentation. Here are that critic's own words:—

"Oldys had much experience in biographic composition; but he asserts that Shakespeare was born on the 23rd April, 1563, and that he died at the age of 53, A.D. 1616. He converts the day and month of the decease of Shake-

speare into the day and month of his birth; contradicts the parish register as to the year of his birth; and contradicts the monumental inscription as to his age at the time of his decease. The assertions of Oldys as testified by his handwriting, have no other basis than his own misconceptions." —'*Notes and Queries*,' 3rd S. 225.

Poor old Oldys! Mr. Corney's own statements are one and all erroneous, probably through his having taken Oldys' notes at second hand. The simple fact is that Oldys asserts nothing whatever as to the day of Shakespeare's birth: he simply deducts 53 from 1616, to find the *year* of his birth, and therefore queries the asserted day of his death. Oldys' method of finding the year of his birth is admissible only on the assumption that he knew that Shakespeare was born on one of the three days intervening between the 23rd and the 27th April. If any inference is to be drawn from Oldys' first note, it must be based on the assumption that, by the subtraction of 53 from 1616, he was observing an unexceptionable method, and in that case the inference would be that Shakespeare was believed by him to have been born on the 24th or 25th, or even possibly on the day of his baptism, the 26th April. Clearly he could not have been born later in the month: and if he were born as early as the 23rd April, *in the year* 1563, he would have entered his 54th year when he died; just as he must have been born on or before the 23rd April, in the year 1564, in order that his death might take place in his 53rd year. I am disposed to think that Oldys did not clearly perceive these simple arithmetical relations: and I dare say they have puzzled many other educated persons. Anyhow Mr. Corney must have failed to see his

way through these various details of date, or he would not have categorically committed himself to the so-called 'Argument on the assumed birthday of Shakespeare.'[3]

Mr. Bolton Corney's argument is thus epitomized by himself:—

"As Shakspere died on the 23rd April [1616], in his fifty-*third* year, he must have been born *before the* 23*rd April*, 1564."

This happens to be just one of those precise categorical assertions which admits of exact refutation. It is false in the same sense in which any arithmetical calculation is false. For instance, if it were demanded of me how many days elapse between the first and last days of January, and I should answer, "there *must be* less than thirty days," I am asserting a necessity which follows from something in my thoughts, and not from the mere terms of the question. That assertion is therefore false. Mr. Bolton Corney's assertion is just as false.

It is also as *demonstrably* false: and herein lies the only difficulty with which I have to contend in this refutation. I am sorry to say, that, according to my experience, the general mind is averse from demonstration. If a conclusion rest on probable evidence, or on feeling only, and people are invited

3 Mr. Corney's 'Argument' was in 1864 'reduced to shape' in a pamphlet of pp. 16. He had by this time seen Oldys' notes on Langbaine for himself: and he writes "So Master Oldys, in some non-lucid moment, underscores *die* 23 *Apr.*—subtracts 53 from 1616—and writes down 1563. He assumes that the words *anno ætatis* 53 are equivalent to *vixit annos* 53, and that the words *die* 23 *Aprilis* refer to *anno ætatis*, instead of being the object of *Obiit*. Such is the process, *never before described*, by which the birthday of Shakspere was discovered." Mr. Corney's tract, p. 7.

to entertain it, and exhorted to embrace it, there are reasonable hopes that it will find many adherents, upon whose minds it has wrought to the extent of producing an impression in its favour, which I cannot describe as either belief, or faith, without doing violence to philosophical language. But if, on the contrary, the conclusion advanced be supported by an iron chain of demonstration, the general mind, either grudging the exertion of thought necessary to master the proof, or flying off under the influence of anger from what seems an *invasion of its freedom, a restriction on its maundering habits*, will not away with it.[4]

[4] This position was curiously, and to me very interestingly, exemplified on an occasion when I had to show the rotation of the moon on her axis, in opposition to the insane crotchet of the late Mr. Jellinger Symons. I reduced my premises to machinery, and exhibited the conclusion by the motion of its parts. I had a model of the earth, into which (merely for convenience) I had inserted an iron rod, to which a ball, representing the moon, was attached. When the latter was made to circulate around the former, the former exhibited the phenomenon (admitted by both parties to the controversy) of one unvarying hemisphere of the moon being constantly presented to the earth. But, firmly fixed on the spindle or axis of the moon (which was perpendicular to the iron rod, and worked freely in it), was also a disc divided at the edge into degrees and numbered, and an index, or pointer, with an arrow head, was inserted into the side of the moon, and thus pointed out the angular amount by which the relative positions of the moon and the disc might be changed. By means of an unnecessary mechanical contrivance, for which I might very well have substituted a weight, this disc was kept constantly in one position with respect to the frame of the machine. By turning a handle the moon was made to revolve, and the index showed the revolution of the moon on the spindle. "This motion is either real or apparent: if it be apparent it must be the disc which revolves on the moon's axis. But we have 'ocular demonstration' that the disc does not so revolve." There was not, I am certain, a single person in the lecture-room who did not feel, in some degree, the rigour of the proof; and I shall never forget the howl of indignation with which this was greeted. The great majority showed me, in a most unmistakable manner, that such an interference with their liberty of mind was not to be tolerated for an instant.

The simple denial, or contradictory, of Mr. Corney's assertion is this:

"If Shakespere died on the 23rd April [1616], in his fifty-third year, he may have been born on the 23rd April, 1564."

This is the proposition I undertake to establish.

But before doing so, I wish it to be understood that by the assumption of the most unquestionable premises I can prove the direct opposite, or contrary, of Mr. Corney's assertion, viz:—

"If Shakespeare was born on the 23rd April [1564], he must have entered his fifty-third year on the the 23rd April, 1616."

Let me consider this point first.

A pretty extensive adduction of authorities on the question, "When does a person complete the first, second, third, etc., year of his age?" justifies me in the statement that the late Professor De Morgan was the only writer (save perhaps Mr. Corney) who ever asserted that the duration of a year is prolonged beyond the vigil of its anniversary. In an article contributed to the 'Companion to the Almanac,' 1850, the learned professor wrote:—

"The anniversary of birth used to be celebrated as the first day of a new year; it is now considered as the completion of an old one."

To this a correspondent of *Notes and Queries* replied—

"To assert, however, that in this respect moderns differ from the ancients, is a libel upon moderns which they

certainly do not deserve. There is no difference in respect of birthday usage. It is with moderns, as it was with ancients, the celebration of *renewed birth;* and the very meaning of the expression 'New Year's Day,' the anniversary of the year, is of itself sufficient to show that Mr. De Morgan's *modern instances* are as incorrect as his ancient inferences."

This seems to me to be undoubtedly correct. Yet, even adopting Professor De Morgan's view, the usage of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would decidedly place Shakespeare in his 53rd year on the day of his death, supposing it to have been also the 52nd anniversary of his birth, or counting the birth itself as one, the 53rd event.[5]

The fact that on every anniversary of a birth, a new year has already been entered upon, is evident in the very attempt to deny it; for, otherwise in the *first year* there would be two birthdays, the real one and its anniversary. In order that every year may have its new year's day,—*i. e.* that the first year may have its birthday, and every succeeding year its anniversary, that anniversary, or new year's day, must be the first day of each year. Accordingly, it is quite unquestionable that, supposing Shakespeare to have been born on the 23rd April, 1564, he was already in his fifty-third year at any time on the 23rd April, 1616. This proof is indeed *sans réplique*, unless we allow a division of days. I am not aware of Mr. Corney having taken refuge in the doctrine that in

[5] While I am correcting this proof, I observe in the *Times* an obituary notice of Archdeacon Sandford, who is there said to have died on his birthday, March 22 (1873), having completed his 72nd year. I hope his tombstone will record his death in his 73rd year.

the inscription on Shakespeare's tomb, the day mentioned is not a unit, but a number (as 24 hours) susceptible of division, one part of which might be counted in one year, and the other part in another. But as this is the only resource left to any one attempting the refutation of my position, I will now address myself to that point.

If the critical exactness of determining such fractions of days be attempted, it must take into its account the fraction by which the year exceeds 365 days; for by so much must the hour of birth be advanced in each succeeding year, and retrenched again in leap-year. The practical effect of this would be that no two birth-epochs would synthronise, and a calculation, something like that of a horoscope, would have to be entered into for every successive anniversary of birth! Need I add, that there is not a particle of evidence on record that such a critical exactness in determining births was ever attempted except for astrological purposes.

The establishment of the contrary position,

> "If Shakespeare was born on the 23rd April, 1564, he must have entered his fifty-third year on the 23rd April, 1616,"

logically includes the contradictory of Mr. Corney's thesis. But in order to establish that contradictory independently of the narrower proposition it is only requisite to exhibit one or more alternatives to the position which he asserts as a necessary inference *i. e.* to show that in certain cases, "if Shakespeare died on the 23rd April, 1616, in his fifty-third year, he may have been born on the 23rd April, 1564."

I. If the writer of the inscription on the tomb adopted the usage of his nation and his time, counting the anniversary of Shakespeare's birth as the first day of a new year—disallowing fractions of days.

II. If he did so—yet allowed a division of the day, and knew that Shakespeare's birth took place in the earlier and his death in the later portion of the day.

III. If the inscription, though good evidence of the date of Shakespeare's death, is not (in the absence of an exact date) to be regarded as good evidence of the date of his birth,—a view by no means absurd, since the term *year of age* (*ætate suâ*) is open to such uncertain interpretation, and so often the record of mere guesswork or repute.

In any one of these cases we may accept both the traditional birthday of Shakespeare and the day of his death as recorded on the monumental tablet. Mr. Bolton Corney's argument would require that each of these cases should be severally disallowed. He simply ignored them all!

Postscript.—These strictures on Mr. Corney's pamphlet were written in his lifetime, and intended to invite his counter-criticism. He died Sept. 10, 1870, after my paper was promised.—C. M. I.

XVI.—PROSPERO'S CLOTHES-LINE, AND THE SCARRE BETWEEN BERTRAM AND DIANA; WITH SOME OTHER OCCASIONAL READINGS IN SHAKESPEARE.

BY A. E. BRAE, ESQ.

(Read January, 1871.)

In the late Rev. Joseph Hunter's 'Disquisition on the Tempest,' there is one point on which I have always heartily agreed with him; and that is his condemnation of that barbarous practical bathos, the *clothes-line*, on which "the trumpery" brought out from Prospero's cell, in the fourth act, is to be placed when he orders Ariel to "hang them on this line." Mr. Hunter's interpretation of "this line" is *a line-tree*. Mr. Knight and Mr. Dyce have energetically defended *the clothes-line*.

Fully approving of Mr. Hunter's interpretation, I think it capable of being placed in a stronger position than he left it in, when, relying too much, it would seem, upon the evident *no-poetry* of the clothes-line to work its own extinction, he did little more in his rejoinder to Mr. Dyce's 'Few Notes' than to repeat the arguments he had originally urged. Moreover, Mr. Hunter, from the first, endangered the

success of his interpretation by an oversight which might suggest a more formidable ground of objection than has been raised as yet. I mean the unnecessary and indefensible connection of the *line-tree* on which the frippery is hung, with the *line-grove* of the fifth act.

In the first place, the line-grove, already occupied by the King and his companions, would not be a likely place for the clowns also to be conducted to; they could scarcely be, as Mr. Hunter puts it, "passing through this line-grove with the murderous intent upon the life of Prospero," without stumbling upon some of the party already there.

Secondly,—the place where the "trumpery" is displayed is not the line-grove, for afterwards, when Prospero and Ariel are speaking together, Ariel describes the situation of the line-grove—which would be absurd if they were then in any part of it; on the contrary, he is sent away, as to some distant place: "Go, release them, Ariel." There had been no change in the locality then present since the commencement of the fourth act. It had been three times distinctly described: "this green plot," "this short-grass'd green," "this green land,"—and nothing can be more plainly indicated in the circumstances of the context than what this continuous scene ought to be:—a well cropp'd lawn in front of Prospero's cell, with a single line-tree spreading forth low branches, as from the side of the stage, and overhanging a rural seat beneath.

It is to such a seat that Prospero may be supposed to point at the commencement of the act:—

"Sit then, and talke with her, she is thine owne."

On such a seat, too, the lovers and Prospero may be seated to witness the mythological pageant enacted before them on the green. And when the vision melts away into thin air,—when Prospero starts up disturbed, and the lovers have retired within the cell,—then it is that Prospero sends for the "trumpery," and desires Ariel to "hang them on this line,"—an operation which the seat beneath may be supposed to assist. A clothes-line in such a scene is the lowest depth of barbarity!

Mr. Knight, in his defence of the clothes-line, asks:—"Is it likely that Shakspere would have made these drunken fellows so knowing in the peculiarities of trees as to distinguish a lime-tree from an elm-tree or a plane-tree?" He might have remembered that Stephano's peculiar vocation was that of butler; and what more obvious than that in full summer the delicious shade and fragrance of the lime would make it the resort of the *al fresco* symposium, and that *the butler* would often be required to bring flasks and goblets *to the line.* Hence he would hail it as an old and familiar acquaintance, of which the seat beneath would instantly remind him.

Mr. Hunter judiciously pointed out Ariel's "Under the blossom that hangs on the bough" as singularly applicable to the rich pendent flowering of the lime; and he quoted Gerarde's description (in 1597) of its "branches wide and far abroad." Parkinson, also, a few years later, in his "Vse of the Line-tree," says, "It is planted both to make goodly arbours and summer banquetting houses;" so that my hypothesis of the symposium is not wholly conjectural.

There is one peculiarity in Stephano's recognition which has not been adverted to—his addressing the tree as "*Mistress Line;*" and I cannot see how the advocates for the clothes-line—unless by some metempsychosis of a laundry-maid—are to explain this salutation if addressed to *their* object. But to the tree its application is easily explained; it is an allusion to Philyra, a nymph as inseparably associated with the line, or tilia, as Daphne is with the laurel.

But, it may be asked, how was the ignorant Stephano to know that? Precisely in the same way. He had sucked in knowledge and flask-drainings together; and would doubtless often overhear the story of Mistress Line discussed, beneath the fragrant shade of her branches, in the same spirit that Cowley afterwards sang her praises:—

> "Stat Philyra; haud omnes formosior altera surgit
> Inter Hamadryadas,—molissima—candida—lævis," etc.

Or, without understanding anything of the classical story, Stephano might merely have learned to imitate his betters in calling the tree, "Mistris line."

Mr. Knight urges another objection: "Mr. Hunter," he says, "furnishes no example of the word *line*, as applied to a tree, being used without the adjunct of tree or grove." On this point Mr. Knight would not perhaps have refused the authority of Holinshed, who has the following in his chapter on 'Woods and Marishes:'—"We are not without the plane, the vgh, the sorfe, the chestnut, *the line*, the black cherrie, and such like." And there is not, in the whole paragraph, tree, or grove, or any other adjunct immediate or remote, to qualify these naked names.

But the cardinal argument of Mr. Knight, echoed and insisted upon by Mr. Dyce in his defence of the clothes-line ('Few Notes,' p. 15), was, that when Stephano takes down the jerkin and exclaims:—

> "Now, Jerkin, you are like to lose your haire, and prove a bald jerkin,"

he must, as a matter of necessity, be referring to a *hair-line*, and consequently to a *clothes-line*. And Mr. Dyce went so far as to pronounce that to this joke of Stephano's "it is impossible to attach any meaning unless we suppose that the line was a hair-line." But here Mr. Dyce assumed what is not a fact, because it may very easily be shown, not only that it is not impossible to find another meaning in Stephano's joke, but that it shall be a better and more probable meaning, inasmuch as the pun, being that of sound rather than sense, is much more in accordance with the measure of Stephano's wit.

To air, is to hang near the fire, or *out of doors*, to dry or freshen; and in some parts of the country the expression to take an air (scilicet, of the fire) is in common use. Now, without going into the question of the probable sameness of pronunciation in Shakespeare's time of hair and air, it is sufficient for the present purpose to observe that even supposing one of these words was then, as now, aspirated and the other not, that circumstance would be no bar to an equivoke between them by persons of Stephano's class, especially as there are examples of similar equivokes between *hair* and *heir*; and in one or two other places in Shakespeare hair and air are to this day disputed readings

Now when Stephano perceives the rich garments of Prospero hanging abroad, as it were, for an air, he says that the jerkin, when taken down, will lose its air; and prove, he adds—his wit just catching at the equivoke—a *bald* jerkin. I certainly think that, even if no other reason for preference existed, the ease and simplicity of this solution of Stephano's joke should conduce to its reception; at all events, it seems far more probable than the forced and obscure allusion to the material of which a clothes-line might or might not be composed,—which would require still more cleverness to recognize at a glance than the species of a tree, even though the latter were unassisted by the suggestive seat beneath.

So again, Trinculo's "excellent pass of pate," which tickled Stephano's fancy so mightily, "we steal by line and level," is but mere sound—the echo of the tree's name suggesting a familiar phrase. The humour seems to consist in the very absence of all sense and fitness as contrasted with Stephano's drunken exuberance of praise.

It is not impossible that Shakespeare may have put these sorry jokes into the mouths of half-drunken clowns as a satire upon the prevailing folly of the day, in punning upon mere sound without any reference to sense. There is no doubt that such a habit was indulged in by a class of persons much higher than Stephano and Trinculo, and on far graver occasions than would now be considered consistent with decency or propriety. Here is a specimen upon an occasion not less solemn than the death of Queen Elizabeth. It occurs in 'A Canto upon the Death of Eliza,' by "G. Fletcher, Trinit.," which

may be seen at length in Nichols' 'Progresses,' vol. iii., p. 259:—

> "The very waters where she sanke did showe,
> With many wrinckled ohs, they sympathised her woe."

The pun being, of course, between the circles, or *oes*, left after the plunge of any body into water, and the lachrymose *oh!s* of grief! Nor was this equivoke, which appears to us so outrageously absurd, by any means intended in burlesque; on the contrary, the whole canto is perfectly serious, and not altogether devoid of beauty.

There is another joke of the minor wit, Trinculo, which, in my opinion, must be understood as a continued equivoke upon the name of the tree:—

> "Monster, come, put some lime upon your fingers."

But how an equivoke upon the name of the tree, if we are to call it *line*, and not *lime?* There are two ways of showing how it may have reference to the tree.

1. Lime, *viscum*, was sometimes spelled and written *line;* and Shakespeare may have intended it to be so spelled in this case.

2. An absolute convertibility existed between *lime* and *line* in almost every sense to which either of these forms could be applied; so that one form might be indifferently spoken, written, and understood for the other, even in equivoke. This convertibility certainly existed afterwards, and may have already commenced in Shakespeare's time.

In support of the first of these positions I cite Robert Burton, who, in his 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' gives "*line*" as the translation of *viscum*.

"Nunc captare feras laqueo, nunc fallere *visco* —
Insidias avibus molire."

"Sometimes with traps deceive, with *line* and string,
To catch wild birds and beasts."

Part ii., sect. 2, memb. 4.

Nor can there be any suspicion of misprint; for, with the exception perhaps of Montaigne, there was never an author who so continually pored over his own work as Burton; altering, adding to, revising, and searching for errors of the press, which he himself corrected through many editions during his lifetime.

With respect to the second position—the convertibility of *lime* and *line*—the following are some of the examples:—

1. *Lime*, or *line*, *viscum*, as just explained.

2. *Lime*, or *line*, a strap or dog-leash. Minsheu has "Lime hound—quære, line hound—lead alwaies in a line which woodmen call a lime for a hound."

3. *Lime*, or *line*, *coire canatim*. Minsheu gives this verb in the form "to *line*." Littleton, some fifty years after, has only "to *lime*." Bailey, later than either, gives the verb in both forms.

4. *Lime*, or *line*, to portray. Shakespeare uses both forms: "The rack dislims;" "all the pictures fairest linde." With respect to this last word, the editors of Shakespeare mislead his readers by glossing it as "*delineated*"—which would, in fact, apply more to the first or cloud-drawn outline which the rack dislims. These editors should recollect that the pictures "fairest linde" must be *painted in colours*, else how could they be "but black to Rosalinde"?

5. *Lime*, or *line*; the teil or linden-tree (*ut supra*).

There seems to be a curious intermixture of terms

connecting this tree with the *flax-plant*. Its Latin name *tilia* resembles *tela*, a web of cloth, and the trees' membraneous linings are called by Pliny *tunicæ*. He also says they are made into *vincula*, which Philemon North translates "brazen ropes"—whatever that may mean (probably a misprint for *bracing ropes*, which would not be a bad translation of Pliny's meaning.[1] Brasing and brasen were both spelled with s in North's time, and would, therefore, seem much more alike than at present). The English name, *teil*, appears from its peculiar spelling to have come from the French verb *teiller*, to hackle flax. *Tiller*, another French verb with the same meaning, is the Greek τίλλω, represented by the Latin *vello;* whence *vellus*, wool, the great rival of flax. *Velum* sheet, or sail, between which and *tela* there seems to be the same difference as in the French words *voile* and *toile*. *Tela* is also a thread or *line,—telum*, a ray or *line* from a luminous body; and so round again to the tree's other name *the line*.

These double affinities may be recognized as early as Chaucer, and may serve even to explain a discrepancy in the manuscripts of his Knight's Tale, viz., in a passage where the various trees are named of which the funeral pyre of Arcite was composed:—

> "As ook, ffirre, birch, asp, alder, holm, poplare,
> Wylow, elm, plane, assh, box, chestayn, lynde, laurere,
> Mapul, thorn, beech, hasyl, ew, whippultre."

In four of the six manuscripts reprinted by the Chaucer Society the name of the tree is *linde* or lynde,

[1] Halliwell cites 'Wardrobe Accounts of King Edward IV.' p. 123, s. v., Braying-ropes, which he defines as "part of the harness of a horse."

as in the above quotation, but in the other two, the Petworth manuscript and the Lansdowne manuscript 851, it is *bynd* and *binde* respectively. This would be difficult to account for upon any other hypothesis than that I have been explaining. *Linde* and *binde* are true German words: one, the tree's name; and the other its quality of forming ligatures. *Binde*, a band or fillet, the *vinculum* of Pliny, and the "*brazen rope*" of Philemon North.

While on the subject I may as well give my opinion as to the meaning of the last word of the above quotation from Chaucer — "whippultree," which has been such a terrible puzzle to his interpreters. I think, then, that it is neither more nor less than what it says, a whippletree or crossbar of a plough; without reference at all to the kind of wood it might be made of. It is a waggish joke of Chaucer's, just as though one were to enumerate a long list of trees and throw in amongst them *an axletree!*

6. *Lime*, or *line*: A topographical distinction applied to certain towns in England.

The double form in this case is used to this day, and seems to have existed from very early times. Of the many examples of this in documents still extant, the following, referring to Newcastle-under-Line in both forms, will be sufficient:—

1. In a Royal Grant, 51st Hen. III (A.D. 1267), many lordships are conferred upon Edmund Crouchback, and amongst them is "Novum Castrum subtus Lynam."
2. In an ecclesiastical document (amongst those reprinted by the Camden Society) A.D. 1232,

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mention is made of "Capella Novi Castri subtus Lymam."

Similar examples in both forms might be cited, of equally ancient dates, with reference to Ashton-under-Lyme or Lyne.

Much surmise has been exercised as to the origin of this distinction "*under line*," but no satisfactory explanation has been discovered. May it not have originally referred to the *line of middle latitude in England?* Every country had probably its middle climate or latitude, called *the line*, just as the equator is *the Line* of the whole earth; and it is a curious fact that the latitude of Newcastle is very nearly an exact mean between that of Berwick and the Land's End. It is also significant that the preposition in the Latin names of these towns should invariably be *subtus*, which properly applies to something considerably above the object, such as an imaginary line in the heavens would be.

That Ashton, some thirty miles to the north of Newcastle, should also have had the same distinction applied to it, may be explained by the possibility that the honour of middle latitude was a disputed point in the uncertain determination of early times. This hypothesis is in some degree unconsciously supported by Holinshed, who, in the second chapter of his Chronicle, '*The Description of Britaine*,' reports that the latitude—"taken by the middest of the region"—is "fifty-three degrees and thirtie minutes, after the opinions of those that have diligentlie observed the same in our daies, and the faithfull reports of such writers as have left notice thereof unto us in their learned tretises to be perpetuallie remembred. How-

beit whereas some in setting downe of these two lines" (*i.e.* of middle longitude and middle latitude) "have seemed to varie about the placing of the same, each of them diverslie remembring the names of sundrie cities and townes whereby they affirme them to have their severall courses; for my part I have thought good to proceed somewhat after another sort."

This sufficiently proves that the line of middle latitude was really a disputed point, and that the position assigned to that line by "*writers*" (whom unfortunately Holinshed does not give any clue to), namely, 53° 30′, is as nearly the latitude of *Ashton*, as the real middle latitude is that of *Newcastle*.

Lord Bacon in his 'Sylva Sylvarum,' (Experiment 398) speaks of the "girdle of the world;" and this is erroneously explained by Dr. Johnson—with that perversity or obtuseness which often disfigures his definitions—as "the zodiac." But a slight attention to the context might have shown him that such could not have been the sense in which the word was used. For Lord Bacon is remarking that "under the line" it is not so hot as "in the skirts of the torrid zone," and he attributes this comparative coolness to the "great brizes" which "the aire in great circles (such as are under the girdle of the world) produceth." Now, by stating that the zodiac is meant, Dr. Johnson makes Lord Bacon contradict himself; for the zodiac is itself in the skirts of the torrid zone which Lord Bacon contrasts and opposes to the girdle of the world.

In all the foregoing examples, the duplicate forms, line and lime, seem to have existed simultaneously.

Even in the name of the tree the two forms appear to have been already in use in Shakespeare's time or very shortly afterwards; for in Lord Bacon's 'Sylva,' already mentioned, which was written certainly before 1626, the following sentence occurs: "They make also cables of the barke of *lime*-trees." (Experiment 614.)

It is not so much that the words themselves have changed as that one form has been gradually preferred, and the other suffered to drop; the preference, no doubt, having been imperceptibly influenced by the inconvenience arising from homonyms. Thus lime would be retained for the tree, to avoid the homonym of the flax-plant. Lime, also, would be retained for *viscum*, to avoid confounding it with another snare—the fisher's line; etc.

But to return to Stephano and his jokes; there is one which has not been as yet noticed. When he takes down the jerkin from the branches of the line, his joke is: "Now is the jerkin under the line," of which the only explanation necessary is, that the name of the tree again suggests the echo of a familiar nautical phrase; or, it might be, that he would have often heard the allusion applied in the same way in those *under-line symposia* spoken of before. It must be remembered that the "drunken butler" had just been aboard ship, and that nautical phrases would be rife in Shakespeare's time amongst the adventurous companions of Sir Walter Raleigh.

I fear these simple and harmless interpretations may sadly offend the admirers of the recondite allusions raked up by Steevens in the *bordels* of

literature, and forced upon Shakespeare in the same note to which that worthy commentator suggested that "*the lines on which clothes are hung are usually made of twisted horse-hair*," a hint so much elaborated afterwards by Mr. Knight and Mr. Dyce.

I fear, too, that the explanation I have ventured to give of the expression *Mistress Line*, by attributing it remotely to the story of Philyra, may offend the prejudices of the few still surviving critics of the *Farmer* school, who find it easier to believe that Shakespeare collected together and pored over the enormous mass of obscure English publications to which Doctor Farmer, ferreting with all the perseverance of an Indian on the trail, professed to have traced "the learning of Shakespeare," rather than admit the possibility that Shakespeare may have achieved by self-exertion that which so many men of inferior position and intellect have since achieved,—a sufficient knowlege of other languages to read them for himself,—although occasionally he might adopt the ready-to-hand words of well-known translations and chronicles. Nay, perhaps intentionally, to disguise his real knowledge and avoid collision with self-asserting literary bullies like Jonson.

But it is said, Shakespeare was so deficient in even ordinary knowledge that he gave Bohemia a sea coast, and, as Dr. Farmer adds, made "a similar mistake in 'The Two Gentlemen of Verona,' relative to that city and Milan." Such accusations only betray ignorance of the licence and laxity in such matters which were common to the age in which Shakespeare wrote.

How is it that we hear of no similar complaints

against his fellow play-wrights? Is it because motes become magnified in the brightness of *his* genius that are scarcely visible in the paler beams of his contemporaries? Or is it because that sort of criticism is abashed as regards them by their asserted attainments and diplomas, while the total absence of pretension in Shakespeare encourages every small pedant to sit in judgment upon his learning? Take, for example, 'Summer's Last Will and Testament,' by Thomas Nash. The play itself is obtrusively learned—full of Latin quotation—and its author was a Cantab and Bachelor of Arts. And yet in that play one of the characters is called *Solstitium*—a staring and palpable misnomer, for the whole scope and attributes of the character are those of *Æquinoctium*, the antithesis of Solstitium. It is scarcely possible to suppose that with Nash's education he could have been ignorant of the distinction between those two names, which, in fact, speak their own meaning: and yet he introduces "*Solstitium, carrying a pair of balances, with an hour-glass in either of them, one hour-glass white, and the other black*," to typify, of course, equality of night and day as declared in the subsequent dialogue:—

"*Summer.* What dost thou with those balances thou bear'st?
Solstitium. In them I weigh the day and night alike.
This white glass is the hour-glass of the day,
This black one the just measure of the night:
One more than other holdeth not a grain."

But if not from ignorance, it must have been from recklessness or licence that Nash wrote so great a solecism—with no stronger reason, perhaps, than that

the word Solstitium happened to be better suited to his metrical arrangement.

Now Shakespeare, except upon really trivial points, was remarkably exact in his allusions to physical phenomena: and if his editors would only give him credit for it—if they could bring themselves to believe that there is always some correct meaning in *his* allusions, their insensibility to which ought to teach them to distrust their own perception rather than his knowledge,—they would be less confident in ascribing to him their own weak and insufficient interpretations.

As a contrast to Nash, I shall cite the following passage from the 2nd Scene of 'Macbeth'—

> "As when the sun 'gins his reflection,
> Ship-wracking storms and direful thunders—
> So from that Spring whence comfort seem'd to come
> Discomfort swells."

There seems nothing in this simile difficult to understand except the obtuseness of its interpreters. Some of them explain it as alluding to day-break—others to the rainbow; while Mr. Steevens, in his own patronising way, speaks of it thus:—

> "The thought is expressed obscurely, but the plain meaning is this: As the same quarter whence the blessing of day-light arises sometimes sends us, by a dreadful reverse, the calamities of storms and tempests, so, etc."

Was there ever more absurd bombast! Shakespeare was too good a natural philosopher to mean any such thing.

Are not storms about the time of the equinox—

equinoctial gales, as they are called—so trite as to have passed into a by-word?

At the opening of Spring, doth not the sun "'gin his reflection;" that is, begin again to diverge from the equator in the flexure of the ecliptic?

Nay, is not the expression in the third line—"So from *that Spring* whence," etc.—a palpable indication that the first branch of the simile is *the other Spring*—the vernal equinox, the harbinger of sunshine and comfort?

The second word in the first line, which I have printed *when*, is "*whence*" in the folio; but the two redundant letters were evidently caught up from the third line; the printer probably supposing that both words ought to be alike.

The editors of Shakespeare, not content with having stupidly misinterpreted his simile, have added *break* at the end of the second line; although the verb *swell* in the fourth line is obviously intended to be *subauditum* at the end of the second. Thus they not only libel Shakespeare's common sense, but they destroy the beautiful and classical curtness of his simile by the intrusion of a superfluous and inappropriate word. Nor is this injurious addition suggested merely; it is *incorporated with the text*, even in the latest Cambridge and Dyce editions.

Shakespeare was wont at times to employ words in a sense different from their ordinary and more obvious signification; either to let his knowledge of their radical meanings be perceived, or to amuse himself by puzzling his hearers and readers. In the same way that he applies *reflection* in this passage in 'Macbeth,' he applies a somewhat similar word, *com-*

plection, in 'As You Like It' (Act III. 2). "Good my complection," exclaims Rosalind to Celia, who is tantalizing her with half-told, half-withheld intelligence. Ritson explained "Good my complexion," as "a little unmeaning exclamatory address to her beauty, in the nature of a small oath,"—to which Caldecott added, "and of the same character with what the Princess says in 'L. L. L.' iv. 1, "Here, good my glass."

But "good my glass" is *not* unmeaning. It means *my good glass, my true reporter*—addressed to the forester, who, as she pretends to believe, has been disparaging her beauty. So Rosalind's "good my complection," means my good complexity, or wrapper up of mystery.

THE "SCARRE" BETWEEN BERTRAM AND DIANA.

If there is one word of Shakespeare's text which more than any other has been teased and twisted, vamped, varied, and translated, until scarcely a rag of the original remains, it is "*scarre*" in 'All's Well that Ends Well," where *Diana*, in her argument with *Bertram*, exclaims:—

> "I see that men make hopes, in such a scarre,
> That we'll forsake ourselves."
>
> Act IV., scene 2.

The following is a selection from the substitutes

that have been proposed by various authorities *in lieu of scarre*, and it may give some notion of the extent to which that word has been worried:—

"*Affairs*,"	proposed by	Rowe.
"*Scare*,"	"	Henley.
"*Staire*,"	"	Collier.
"*Snare*,"	"	Staunton.
"*Scathe*,"	"	Beckett.
"*Scrape*,"	"	Smith.
"*Scape*,"	"	Lettsom.
"*Scene*,"	"	Malone.
"*Warre*,"	"	Singer.
"*Cause*,"	"	Mitford.
"*Case*,"	"	Dyce.
"*Sorte*,"	"	Williams.
"*Suit*,"	"	"Old Corrector."

But while all this diversity of opinion has existed in respect of a proper substitute for *scarre*, there has been a very general assent to *hopes* as a necessary substitute for the misprint "ropes," in the same line, as first proposed by Rowe, and as adopted in the quotation above. Still, inasmuch as there are some few dissentients who adopt Henley's objection to it—that *to make hopes* is "an uncouth expression," or Tieck's and Knight's that it is "a weak expression—it may be expedient to say a few words in its support, especially as its recognition is essential to the interpretation I shall afterwards attribute to *scarre*.

To *make hopes* is surely not a weaker or more uncouth expression than to *spin hopes;* of which latter I can produce an example contemporary with Shake-

speare, and even apparently proverbial in his time:—"He that spines nothing but hopes shall weave up nothing but repentance."—Earl of Cumberland's Speech, A.D. 1600, 'Nicholls' Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' vol. 3, page 158.

Now if the same misprint, ropes for hopes, had occurred here, its necessary correction might have been plausibly demurred to on the ground that the apparent connection between *spin* and *rope* would be too close to warrant the suspicion of a misprint.[2] This shows that there may be as much danger of error in rejecting corrections really necessary as in admitting too readily those which are not necessary; into which latter category I hope to prove that any alteration whatever of the existing word "scarre" would fall.

Several years ago, before the discovery of Mr. Collier's 'Old Corrector,' I happened to be reading Anthony Brewer's play of '*Lingua*,' in the last edition (1825) of Dodsley's 'Collection of Old Plays.' *Tactus*, one of the characters, has found, lying in his path, "a gorgeous robe and golden coronet," which he appropriates to himself, exchanging for them his own simple attire:—

> "Roses and bays pack hence, this crown and robe
> My brows and body circles and invests."

He then begins to fancy himself a king, and struts to and fro exclaiming—

> "Poets will write whole volumes of this change."

[2] Just such an objection as may be urged from the apparent connection between *scar* and *wound* in 'Troilus and Cressida:' of which more hereafter.

But to the last word, "change," there was a foot-note with the signature "C;" that being the editorial initial of Mr. J. P. Collier, the editor of that 1825 edition of Dodsley's Old Plays, as follows:—

"'Poets will write whole volumes of this "*scar*,"' was the reading of the edition of this work in 1780; but it is mere nonsense: the true word has been supplied from the old copies. C."

The natural inference from this note was that no such word as *scar* was to be found in any of the old copies of 'Lingua'; and I much regretted it; for it immediately occurred to me that if the true word "*supplied from the old copies*" had been *scar* and not *change* as asserted, it would have afforded a valuable contemporary example of the same word that had caused so much difficulty in Shakespeare, and might have led to a discovery of its real meaning.

At the period to which I am here referring, Mr. Collier's authority was considered unquestionable on the subject of "*old copies*," especially those of a play he had been engaged in editing. Impressed partly with that feeling and partly with a persuasion of the improbability that a responsible editor of Dodsley in 1825 would venture to accuse the reading of the preceding edition of 1780 of not being that of the old copies without absolute certainty of the fact, it did not occur to me that any verification of it would be necessary, and so the subject was forgotten for several years.

Lately, however, it had recurred to me upon the consideration that if it was improbable an editor of the same work in 1825 would falsely or carelessly

impute error, without due examination, to his predecessor of 1780 (the only edition mentioned in Mr. Collier's note as having the word *scar*), it was still more improbable that the editor of 1780 would import a strange and obsolete word in order to supplant a well-known and familiar one: a procedure just the reverse of what might be expected. Thereupon I had, at length, recourse to the old copies direct, and was astonished to find that in all the really old quarto editions of 'Lingua,' viz. 1607, 1617, 1622, 1632, and one other early quarto without date, the reading in them all is "*scarre*." So that Mr. Collier's note was a gratuitous misstatement—the more inexcusable because all these editions, with their titles and dates, were enumerated at the end of the play in Dodsley, and were all accessible for reference in the British Museum long before 1825, when Mr. Collier wrote this note.

Now it is not improbable that such a positive denial of the genuineness of *scar* by an authority, then, and for long afterwards, considered reliable, may have discouraged others as well as myself from the investigation of the meaning of that word in 'Lingua' as a contemporary example of the same word in 'All's Well that Ends Well.' It is true that Mr. Lettsom, in a foot-note to page 76, vol. iii., of his edition of Walker's 'Critical Examination," quotes "scarre" as the actual reading of the old quartos of 'Lingua,' but he does so without any reference to Mr. Collier's denial: nor does Mr. Lettsom seem to have derived from his quotation of these quartos any hint of the probable bearing of the word *scarre* in 'Lingua' upon the explanation of the same word in Shake-

speare. On the contrary, *he discredits scarre altogether*, both in 'Lingua' and in 'All's Well,' by adding, "Perhaps *scape*, in the sense of *trick* or *intrigue*, is the genuine word in *both* passages"!

As regards 'Lingua,' however, there can be no doubt that it will be the duty of any future editor of Dodsley to undo the mischief of Mr. Collier's note, by restoring *scarre* to the text of 'Lingua' as the true and genuine reading.

And now for its meaning.

Scarre may either be a variation in spelling from the better-known *scorce;* or, which I prefer to believe, it may be an independent word of nearly the same signification. So near, however, is the trace of letters in the two words that it is rather extraordinary that no one should have suggested *scorce* amongst the many proposed substitutes for *scarre* of which I have given a list at the beginning.

The meaning of *scorce* is change = exchange, barter, equivalent, etc., as may be seen in these examples from Spenser and Drayton:—

"A better scorce
Weak body well is chang'd for mind's redoubled force."
Spenser, F. Q. II., ix. 55.

"Let us scorse,
And for a piece of thine my whole heart take."
Drayton, Ideas, lii.

These two examples are for the purpose of showing scorce in both forms—noun and verb—and in the exact sense of change (or *exchange*, in which sense change was formerly used, as indeed it still is in the phrase "*on change*").

Now, assuming that scarre was synonymous with scorce, we have Tactus, in 'Lingua,' exulting in the exchange of his simple habiliments for the trappings of royalty. And it is especially worthy of remark that "*change*," which we have seen in these examples to have been identical with scorce, and which I am assuming to be so with scarre, should be the very word asserted by Mr. Collier to be the "true word" of the old copies.

Determined to sift to the bottom this singular coincidence of meaning in the genuine and the adventitious words, I sought out and examined the only remaining printed copy of 'Lingua' not included in the list of old quartos already examined. It is an octavo of much later date than the latest of the quartos, having been printed in 1657, or just half a century after the first edition of the play in 1607. And in it, at length, I found the obscure and comparatively modern authority which had done duty in Mr. Collier's note for the "*old copies*."

In that single *old copy* (if, by courtesy it may be so called) the word is certainly *change*. But why so? Because printers in the latter part of the seventeenth century took upon themselves, when reprinting old books, to act also as correctors, by altering words which might appear to them to be obscure or obsolete. That this was the case in the present instance is, I think, sufficiently obvious in the absence of attempted resemblance in *form* between the original and its substitute, while there is a very near resemblance in *sense*.

The edition of 1657, in which the substitute first appeared, has of course no authority as an original,

but, even in it, the substitution was probably only intended to modernize the expression, and should therefore be regarded more as *a gloss* than as a correction of the original word.

In this view of it, the variation in the 1657 edition, instead of throwing any doubt upon the genuineness of scarre, becomes a valuable evidence of the sense in which that word was received at the time that edition was printed.

How, then, would such a sense comport with Shakespeare's use of *scarre* in 'All's Well that Ends Well'?

The situation is this.

Diana's object is to obtain possession of Bertram's ancestral ring; Bertram's, to obtain possession of Diana herself; and so it becomes *a negotiation by barter and exchange.* Diana craftily introduces the object *she* is aiming at by the speech in question:—

> "I see that men make hopes in such a scarre
> That we'll forsake ourselves."

That is,—men expect that in such a bargain we'll throw ourselves away without equivalent. And then she suddenly adds, as if to name the equivalent:—

> "Give me that ring."
> *He.* I'll lend it thee, my dear, but have no power to give it from me.
> *She.* Will you not, my lord?
> *He.* It is an honour 'longing to our house,
> Bequeathéd down from many ancestors,
> Which were the greatest obloquy i' th' world
> In me to lose.
> *She.* Mine honour's such a ring;
> My chastity's the jewell of our house,

Bequeathéd down from many ancestors,
Which were the greatest obloquy i' th' world
In me to lose. Thus your own proper wisdom
Brings in the champion honour on my part
Against your vain assault.
He. Here, take my ring:
My house, mine honour, yea, my life is thine,
And I'll be bid by thee.

The whole dialogue is a complete specimen of hard barter and exchange—her honour against his ring; and affords the best possible confirmation of the sense in which *scarre* ought to be taken. And if Diana seems to give in too suddenly—to be too easily won—if she "ought in all propriety to make some excuse to Bertram (and to the audience) for the abrupt change in her feelings and conduct" (Dyce's Shakespeare, 2nd edit., vol. iii. p. 311), it must be recollected that "*the audience*" know perfectly well that she has no real intention to surrender; and that it is her express mission as much to make the assignation as to get possession of the ring. Either of these objects being useless without the other, it was clearly Diana's cue to conclude the *scarre* as speedily as possible.

So clearly, in my opinion, does the necessity of the situation demand that scarre should be read in the sense of business or dealing, that if it had no other support than the precedent of the same word in a somewhat similar sense in '*Lingua*,' I should not hesitate to support it. But I hope to show that it has at least two other strong points in its favour.

First, that the derivation of scar is strictly consistent with the sense required.

Second, that Shakespeare has used the same word elsewhere in the same sense.

Scar, or scarre (the last is the old way of spelling the word, and ought perhaps to be retained for the sake of distinguishing it in this sense) is, in common with *share*, *shear*, *shire*, etc., derivable from a verb in the Anglo Saxon and other languages, signifying to cut, divide, separate. In the Icelandic, with which Dr. Hickes has shown that so many of our common English words are identical, this verb is sker, *seco*; skera, *secare*. In the same language sker also signifies a rock or cliff, and was probably Camden's authority for the derivation of Scarborough; see Skinner, who says ('Etymologicon,' in *Scar*, cicatrix), "Verum si Camdeno credendum sit Scar A.S. cautem signare, longe optimum esset ab isto Scar deducere: nam instar cautis dura est." But in this derivation Skinner is of course wrong: a better and more probable one would be from the verb direct, on account of the appearance of *cleavage* that a scar presents. Now *barter* implies division or separation into parts, each of which is supposed to be equivalent to the other: hence the idea of division is not foreign to that of barter. But if it should still be objected that to divide is not to negotiate, an analogy is presented in *deal*, which, although in like manner derived from an A.S. verb signifying to cut or divide, is certainly used in the sense of negotiate.

And there is another possible origin for *scar* in that sense — *scyr* or *scyre*, *cura*, *munus*, *negotium*, etc., of which the first seems to be one of the definitions adopted by N. Bailey in his dictionary, viz.:—

"SCAR, care or value. *Shakesp.*"

Here, in an old English dictionary of the reign of Queen Anne, is not only the very word in nearly the sense required, but it is attributed to Shakespeare: nor is it difficult to trace the source from which Bailey obtained it. It is copied *verbatim* from a glossary or 'Explanation of the Old Words used by Shakespear in his Works,' published in that "Volume the Seventh" foisted upon Rowe's first six-volume edition, and surreptitiously printed by Edmund Curll in 1709. The critical essay of which it forms a part is attributed to Charles Gildon, but it would appear erroneously so, since the initials subjoined to its dedication are S.N.

But probably it was not to this passage in 'All's Well that Ends Well' that this gloss of *scar* was directed, but to one in 'Cymbeline,' which the definition "*value*" exactly fits. And this brings me to my last argument, namely, that Shakespeare has repeated *scarre* elsewhere in the same sense.

First, in the passage just referred to in 'Cymbeline,' act v., sc. 5, where *Bellarius* interposing to save *Guiderius* from the consequences of having slain *Cloten*, asserts that Guiderius was Cloten's superior in rank, and in merit far outweighed him; he tells the king that Guiderius is—

> "As well descended as thyself, and hath
> More of thee merited than a band of Clotens
> Had ever *scar* for."

How absurd and inadequate is the meaning *cicatrix* usually attributed to *scar* in this passage! And yet

Mr. Dyce, in his note upon it, had nothing more to say than—"I can see no reason to doubt the correctness of this passage." (See his latest edition, vol. vii. *in loco.*) But afterwards, in the Glossary with which he finally closed his remarks, Mr. Dyce thought it necessary to defend the usual interpretation, which he did in this fashion:—

"I now find that Mr. Grant White objects to Capel's interpretation because 'Cloten had received no wound in the king's service. He was killed before hostilities commenced.' But surely Cloten, who was no coward, may be supposed to have fought for the king anterior to the present play."

"*May be supposed to have fought!*" All that need be said of the objection and the answer to it is that they are quite worthy of each other.

If scar, *cicatrix*, had been the sense intended, it would, at least, have been in the plural. But, indeed, the idea of *a show of scars* between "a band of Clotens" and a youth who had none to show—none at least that we are told of—is so purely absurd that the more it is considered in relation with the whole context the more inadmissible it appears.

But let *scarre* be taken in the sense of *equivalent*—or let it have Bailey's definition "*value*," which, as before remarked, seems to have been especially directed to this passage of 'Cymbeline,' and it is rendered at once clear and complete:—

> ". . . and hath
> More of thee merited than a band of Clotens
> Had ever scarre [*value*] for."

Another passage in which I think *scarre* has been

misinterpreted (or, perhaps, I should say insufficiently interpreted) is in the opening scene of 'Troilus and Cressida.' *Æneas* reports that *Paris* has been wounded by *Menelaus*, whereupon *Troilus* replies:—

> "Let Paris bleed, 'tis but a scarre to scorn;
> Paris is gored by Menelaus' horn."

Here,[3] on account of *a wound* being the prominent subject, it is much more difficult to avoid giving *scarre* the meaning of cicatrix. Still, I think, the sense I have been contending for is far more probable. The interpretation, in any case, must be that the wound inflicted upon the body of Paris is but a fair return for that inflicted upon the honour of Menelaus. Now that interpretation is, in my opinion, more directly arrived at if *scarre* be taken in the sense of exchange or equivalent: "Let Paris bleed, it (the bleeding) is but a scarre (*quid pro quo*) to the scorn he had brought upon Menelaus. But, on the other hand, since it is no doubt *possible* to read the passage with the more familiar sense of *scarre*, the truth may be that Shakespeare intended an equivoke in this passage, by giving scarre a *double* meaning.

OCCASIONAL READINGS.

There is one of Shakespeare's similes that I think has been sinned against; and I am re-

[3] Supra, p. 483.

minded of it by its having been recently discussed in a late number of the 'Edinburgh Review' (July, 1869). The reviewer lauds in the highest terms the revival by Mr. Dyce of "wings the wind" (in 1st of 'Henry IV.' Act iv. 1), the old reading of the Variorum. *Wings the wind* may be a very good and poetical expression in itself, and quite appropriate to ostriches, and yet very inappropriate to this passage of Shakespeare. Sir Richard Vernon is extolling the brilliant and vigorous appearance of Prince Harry and his comrades:—

> "All furnisht, all in armes,
> All plum'd like estridges that with the winde
> Bayted like eagles, having lately bath'd."

The punctuation of the Folio is notoriously no guide whatever to the sense. Here it is left entirely to the judgment of an editor whether "bayted" ought to attach to the estridges or to the eagles. Mr. Knight decided for the first, in which he had been anticipated by the unknown editor of Scott and Webster's edition of 1833, printing thus:—

> "All plum'd liked estridges that with the wind
> Bated, like eagles having lately bath'd."

In this punctuation Mr. Knight was, in my opinion, decidedly right; but in his interpretation—especially in understanding estridges to be falcons, and not ostriches—as decidedly wrong. The unknown editor, above mentioned, whose edition anticipated Mr. Knight's by nine or ten years, was right as to the first branch of the simile, but wrong as to the second. His note is:—

"The meaning is, *that they were plumed like ostriches, which bated with (or shook their wings against) the wind, like eagles that have lately bathed.*"

Very nearly right; but mistaken in supposing that it is the ostriches that are compared with the eagles and not the Prince and his comrades.

One great merit of this punctuation is that it admits of strict adherence to the words of the original: and it has the still greater merit of giving perfect consistency to the simile.

On the other hand, the reading advocated by the 'Edinburgh Review' is not only a violent alteration of the text which nothing but hopeless obscurity could justify, but it also makes nonsense of it by taking away the proper antecedent to the verb "bated," and reducing it to a participle with unavoidable reference to eagles; a passive participle, too, and, therefore, to be spelled *baited*. Now, what can baited like eagles mean? One hears of bulls being baited, but not eagles. And what is it that is baited like eagles? Is it the Prince and his comrades, or is it the estridges; for it may be read as applying to either? All these difficulties arise from the adoption of "wing the wind," which, by making the first line complete in itself, necessarily compels "bayted" to be read with the second. Thus, so far from being an improvement, "wing the wind" creates an obscurity from which the original text, when properly explained, is wholly free.

All plum'd like estridges that *with* the wind *bated* = *struggled* = *contended*. With = against, is perfectly legitimate, as the unknown editor pointed out. And

that "bate" in Shakespeare's time signified to struggle with the wings, without onward motion appears in this sentence in one of Lord Bacon's letters to Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1600:—"For now I am like a hawk that bates when I see occasion for service, but cannot fly because I am tied to another's fist." There can be no doubt, let the passage be read as it may, that the first branch of the simile is an allusion to the egregious pluming of the helmets of those days, as represented in many an old illumination; and certainly the streaming of an ostrich's plumage, *when struggling against the wind*, presents a much more vivid image than when sailing before it in the same direction.

The second branch of the simile is distinct from the first and has no necessary connection with it. Now that it is relieved from 'bayted' it is perfect in itself, and has nothing to do with ostriches or their plumage. It is an image of the exuberant *life and vigour* of the Prince and his comrades.

There is a deeper meaning in "*having lately bath'd*" than the mere washing of feathers. Eagles were supposed to renew their youth and vigour by plunging in certain springs. In the 'Bestiare,' of Philippe de Thaun, edited by Mr. Wright for the Historical Society, the story of the eagles seeking a certain fountain in the East, and, when plunged therein three times, having their youth and vigour renewed, is declared to be typical of baptism:—

> "E le rejuvener de l'egle e del plunger
> Baptesme signifie en ceste mortel vie."
> (Line 1035.)

Spenser makes use of a somewhat different version of the same fable as a simile of the restoration to strength and vigour of the Red Cross Knight:—

> "As eagle fresh out of the ocean wave
> Where he hath left his plumes all hoarie gray
> And deckt himselfe with feathers youthly gay."
> 'F. Q.' I. xi, 34.

I uphold the original text of Shakespeare in thi passage as absolutely perfect,—infinitely superior to the foolish and exploded alteration so much bepraised in the 'Edinburgh Review.' The simile is twofold—first as to the plumage of the helmets, and second as to the exuberant life and vigour of their wearers; each having its separate comparison:—

> "All plum'd like estridges that with the wind
> Bated,—like eagles having lately bath'd."

The Cambridge editors left the text as they found it; their stated reasons for so doing may be, as the reviewer terms them, "slender" and "weak;" but if they have not assisted the text by punctuation or explanation, it is at least a merit to have left it unmeddled with. Would that they had acted with the same prudence when dealing with the other simile, in 'Macbeth.'[4]

[4] Supra p. 479.

"It is the pasture lards the brother's sides."
'Timon,' iv. 3.

I cannot by any means acquiesce in the acceptance of *rother* as a correction of *brother* in this passage. Rother-beasts was a general descriptive denomination, and I have not seen any attempt to produce an example of its application to an individual animal in the literature of Shakespeare's day; nor, indeed, of the use of rother at all, without the addition of beasts. But, be that as it may, I consider that we have, in *breeder*, an infinitely more probable substitute for *brother*:—

"It is the pasture lards the breeder's sides,
The want that makes him lean."

It is a singular coincidence that the same misprint should occur elsewhere to which the same correction appears applicable. In Sandy's 'Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses' (Oxford edition, 1632) there is, on the margin of page 6, a note explanatory of Erinnys—"Erinnys, a brother of discord, as her name imports." Here the misprint is corrected in the Table of Errata by the substitution of *brocher*; but there is no doubt that *breeder* of discord would be a most probable correction.

"And rocky-hard, where thou thyself dost air."
'Tempest:' Address to Ceres, iv. 1.

The unwitting intrusion, by Messrs. Heminge and Condell, of a hyphen, between these two words rockey-hard, has caused them, ever since, to be regarded as a compound adjective attaching to sea-marge, although sea-marge has already its own adjective in sterile. If anything were necessary to show that this intrusion of a hyphen has, in itself, no authority worthy of the slightest consideration, it is presented in the same speech by the similar intrusion of a hyphen in "turphie-mountains," where it ought not to be, and by its omission a little farther on, in the compound phrase "hony drops," where it ought to be, and with which it is printed in all modern editions.

If, like mountain, hard had a signification as a noun only, and not also another and *more familiar* signification as an adjective, then it would long since have been received as a noun with *rocky* as its qualifying adjective; and the hyphen would have been no more tolerated in rocky-hard than in turfy-mountains.

The noun *hard* is well known in nautical phraseology as a jetty, or landing place, for boats, and also as an embankment for the repair of ships called a careening hard.

But, in this address to Ceres, it surely means one of those elevated areas or platforms exposed to the wind, which were anciently used for the winnowing of corn by flinging it up into the air from

sieves so that the chaff might be blown away and the grain fall back upon the *rocky hard*. As such it is peculiarly applicable to Ceres, and explanatory of the phrase "*where thou thyself dost air*."

In this same invocation of Ceres I have elsewhere given my interpretation of "pinioned and twilled brims"; and in a former publication, some twelve years ago, I have recorded my reading of Ferdinand's "my labours most busy lest when I do it," in which, by the alteration of a single letter —*lest* to *hest*, in the sense of *task or exaction*—I produce "labour's most busy hest," whereby every difficulty appears to be satisfactorily solved; an object is given to the possessive *s* in labours, and an antecedent is provided for the pronoun *it*, in the last line.

"A very—very—paiocke."
'Hamlet,' iii. 2.

What a long string of birds and reptiles—from a peacock to a Norway rat—has been paraded for the identification of this paiocke of Hamlet! But why should it necessarily be the name of anything at all? Is it not much more natural that Hamlet, in his distraction and excitement, after casting about in his own mind for some epithet sufficiently opprobrious for his comparison (as evinced in his repetition—"very, very"), should suddenly break off and end by an onomatopœia of loathing and disgust? Such an

onomatopœia, expressive of sound only, must always be of uncertain and arbitrary spelling, and difficult to embody in written letters. But paiocke is sufficiently expressive of such a sound, and is almost identical with "*pouck*," by which word Cotgrave, in his 'French and English Dictionary,' expresses the same thing. In 'Hamlet' it ought, perhaps, to be pronounced as one syllable or sound of voice—somewhat like *piawke*.

———

"In little room confining mighty men,
Mangling by starts the full course of their glory."
'Henry V.,' chorus (*ad finem*).

Mangling by *starts!* Most certainly I read *struts*, and not *starts*. The whole of the chorus is apologetic and deprecatory. As in that of the fourth act:—

"When, oh for pity, we shall much disgrace
With four or five most vile and ragged foils,
Right ill disposed in brawl ridiculous,
The name of Agincourt."

How well in keeping with this would be:—

"In little room confining mighty men,
Mangling by struts the full course of their glory."

Compare, in 'Troilus and Cressida':—

"And like a strutting player whose conceit
Lies in his ham-strings, and doth think it rich
To hear the wooden dialogue and sound
'Twixt his stretch'd footing and the scaffoldage."

"He sent our messengers."
'Troilus and Cressida,' ii. 3.

"The great Achilles
Grows dainty of his worth, and in his tent
Lies mocking our designs.
Agam. Where is Achilles?
Patro. Within his tent; but ill disposed, my lord.
Agam. Let it be known to him that *we* are here:
He *tents* our messengers; and we lay by
Our appertainments visiting of him—
Let him be told so."

Here Agamemnon contrasts himself with his messengers, and tells Achilles that although he keeps to his tent from them, he must not do so by their master, who is himself condescending to visit him. Who that considers this context but must see that *tents* is the right correction of *sent*, being little more than an exchange of place of the first and last letters. And if it be objected that tent is not a verb, Shakespeare himself answers the objection a little farther on, by Agamemnon saying:—

"Why will he not, upon our fair request,
Untent his person and share the air with us?"

And yet Theobald's substitution of *shent*, for which there is no warrant in the text, still holds possession in all modern editions.

"*Malvolio.* There is example for it: the Lady of the strachy married the yeoman of the wardrobe."

'Twelfth Night,' ii. 5.

Florio, in his 'Italian Dictionary,' has a word very like in sound to this *strachy*:—

"Strascio, the train or long garment of state worn by a princess."

And when it is considered that there is a sort of appositeness in making the lady who wears the train condescend to marry the man who had charge of it, it offers, I think, a very probable interpretation of Malvolio's meaning.

There is an epitaph in Saint Martin's-in-the-Fields, reported in Camden's 'Remains,' which shows that "yeoman of the wardrobe" was not an uncommon appointment in a noble lady's household:—

"Here lyes Richard Hobbs,
Yeoman of the roabes
To our late sovereigne Queene Mary,
And dyed on Ash Wednesday, being 19 of February,
One thousand five hundred sixtie and one,
On whose soule Jesus have mercy. Amen."

These notes, which began with "The Tempest," may fitly end with a slight contribution in aid of a disputed reading in that play:—

"— leave not a $\frac{\text{rack}}{\text{wreck}}$ behind."

I am one of those who have upheld the interpretation of rack as *a fleeting cloud*, and it is now many

rs since I defended it publicly. ('Notes and eries' of the 1st S., iv. 121, 1851.)

It has been asserted, since then, I believe, that no mple can be produced of *rack* applied individually o a single cloud. Here is one; one, at least, by ference. The words in Virgil's Æneid, V. 820:—

"—— fugiunt vasto ætheri *nimbi*."

were translated by

"—— *the ratches* flye."

rely the p roves the possibility of e singular.

XVII.—ON SEALS ATTACHED TO CHARTERS PRESERVED IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AT OXFORD.

BY W. H. TURNER, ESQ.

(Read February 26th, 1873.)

THE charters and seals to which I have the honour of directing your attention this evening are preserved among the original documents of the Bodleian Library, and consist of grants of land from the Abbots of Bury St. Edmunds early in the twelfth century. They were collected by Mr. Thomas Martin, of Palgrave, Suffolk, author of the 'History of Thetford,' upon whose death they were purchased (with Le Neve's extensive Norfolk Collection, including the Paston Papers) by Mr. John Worth, F.S.A., a chemist of Diss, in Norfolk, for £600. From him, after a portion of his collection had been dispersed, the remainder, including these charters, passed by purchase in 1775, the year of Mr. Worth's death, to Mr. Thomas Hunt, a bookseller, of Harleston, and from him Richard Gough obtained them and presented them to the Bodleian Library, with his other valuable collection.

Of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, a greater number of records are said to exist than of any other of the dissolved houses. Six Abbots from its foundation are enumerated in the 'Monasticon,' before the election of Anselm (Abbot of St. Saba, at Rome, and nephew of the more famous Archbishop of that name) to fill the vacancy on the death of

Albold. Anselm was confirmed Abbot in 1121, a
remained in this office, apparently without oppositi
till 1136. As, however, he did not bear the m
exemplary character, his nomination to the See
London in that year was not confirmed; nay, Thurst
Archbishop of York, wrote to the Pope, and su
gested the deprivation of his abbacy in preference
his promotion to an Episcopal See. In the mea
while the Abbey, in 1138, elected Ording as th
Abbot; but, Anselm returning on the failure of
confirmation to the Bishopric of London, after so
opposition and delay was re-elected, and the
remained until his death, the 3. Non. January, 11
having in the previous year made over his possessio
to the Abbey by a testament which Pope Eugeni
III. confirmed by Bull.[1]

The charters of this Abbot (two in number) are,
believe, unique. The earliest is written upon rou
undressed parchment of the unusual size of 20 inch
by 7. On the left side are two strips of the sa
vellum, six inches long and one inch broad, one
the top and other at the bottom of the charter;
these (according to appearances), the seals of t
Abbey and Abbot, though now unfortunately lo
had been attached. At the base of the charter
a slip of the vellum, half an inch in width, cut

[1] A very interesting contemporary record of the doings of
monks, etc., of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds has been preserv
in the 'Chronica Jocelindi de Brakelonda,' which was edited a
published for the Camden Society in 1840, by J. Gage Rokewo
Dir. Soc., Ant. To this volume we shall constantly refer in the no
accompanying this paper. T. Carlyle, in his 'Chartism,' Lond. 18
and 1858, has made an amusing adaptation of the Story of the
Monk of Bury.

within three inches of the left side, but which has no appearance of a seal having been attached to it. In addition to Talebot, the Prior, and the whole convent, this charter is witnessed by no less than fifty-one names, none of which, however, are historic, the same orthography of places being used as sixty years before, in Domesday. We may notice, as a new or unusual statement, that in the grant of certain land at Saxham, there is a notice of

"*quendam pauperem villanum in eadem terra,*"

which seems to imply that villeins were in different social circumstances. The following is the text of the charter:—

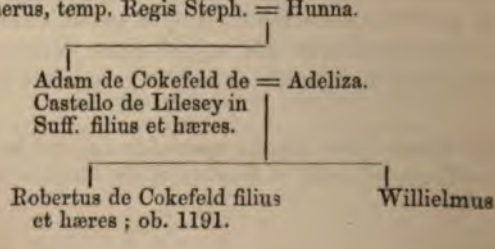
ANSELMUS,[2] dei gratia Abbas Sancti Eadmundi, Omnibus suis hominibus francis et anglis infra Burgum et extra, salutem. Sciatis quod ego per concessum totius conventus concessi et dedi in feudum et in hereditatem LEONI et heredibus suis unam Tuftam in villa sancti Eadmundi quam Holdegerus emit a Godguia vidua et moriens dimisit mihi quietam ab omni servitio et ab omni consuetudine et ab omnibus geldis et auxiliis. Concessi etiam et dedi ei et heredibus suis per concessum totius conventus in feudum et in hereditatem terram quam habet apud Westlea de Aula de FORNHAM et dabit pro ea omni anno preposito de fornham iiij. or. solid. in quattuor terminis quattuor firmarum, scilicet in singulis terminis, xij. den. et per tantum sit quietus ab omnibus servitiis et consuetudinibus et auxiliis et geldis. Et volo ut participet de pascuis de fornham ad opus pecunie sue per supradictum servitium absque ulla inquietudine. Concessi etiam et dedi ei et heredibus suis, ut teneant et habeant in feudum et in

[2] By this charter Abbot Anselm granted to Leo and his heirs among other property certain lands in Westley of the Court of Fornham and of Hengrave.

hereditatem totam terram que pertinet ad hemegridam[3] et jacet in Westlea, ea conventione quod dabit pro illa terra sacriste omni anno pro omni servitio, vj. đen. in festivitatem Sancti Eadmundi. Emit quoque prefatus Leo per meum concessum et per concessum Hervei sacriste totiusque conventus silvam que est juxta domum suam apud Westlea a duobus fratribus videlicet, Wluardo et Lemmaro, et de heredibus illorum pro x. solid. Unde volo et precipio ut bene et in pace ille et heredes sui teneant et habeant illam. Concessi etiam et dedi ei et heredibus suis in feudum et in hereditatem per concessum totius conventus quandam terram apud Ceventune[4] que jam fuit silva, que dicitur Blessenhage, et dabit pro ea omni anno preposito de Ceventune. xij. đen. et per tantum sit quietus ab omnibus servitiis et consuetudinibus et auxiliis et geldis. Ib ijuxta dedi ei et heredibus suis quendam terram que jam fuit silva pertinentem ad Saxham, et quendam pauperem villanum in eadem terra manentem et dabit pro eo et pro terra illa unoquoque anno preposito de Saxham, xij. đen. et per tantum sit quietus ab omnibus servitiis et consuetudinibus et auxiliis et geldis. Concessi etiam ei ut emeret quandam terram apud Ceventune a Johanne de Laval et volo et concedo concedente toto conventu ut sicut dedi illam terram Johanni et heredibus suis in feudum et in hereditatem ita Leo et heredes sui habeant et teneant illam, et dabit pro ea unoquoque anno preposito de Ceventune xij. đen. et per tantum sit quietus ab omnibus servitiis et consuetudinibus et auxiliis et geldis. Et hi sunt testes, Talebotus prior cum toto conventu in capitulo, Adam de Coccef. et Robertus et Willielmus filii ejus,[5] Wluardus cleř, Wiłł. fil. Ailb. Elias de

[3] Hengrave. [4] Chevington.

[5] Lemmerus, temp. Regis Steph. = Hunna.



1

2

1 SEAL OF ABBOT ANSELM

2 SEAL OF ABBOT HUGO.

Melef. Osward de Turstun, Wiłł. fil. Harg. Radul. de London, Radul. de Risebi, Godebold de Kirkebi, Gaufrid. de Melef. Osberñ. pincerñ. Ramałd. cameř. Joh. de Laval, Joh. de Moñt. Raduł. constab. Wielard. de Wridlint. Berard. longg̃. Warin. de billest̃. Bened. de Blac̃. Robt̃. fil. grif. Radul. petit. Semannus presbyter. Aduard. fil Odin. Petrus. et Stefanus de brenef. Wiłł. pistor. Robt̃. malet. Druard. Brunstan. Reimund. Rad. fil. baldw̃. et Robt̃. fr̃. ejus, Lefstan piccescał. Ricard. et Adam fr̃. ejus, Anfrid. fil. Leofric Albertuce, Osberñ. de Herlane, Willũs. de Ho, Seward. portař. Godric̃. cranc̃. Fulco fil. Wiłłi. Godwiñ. carpentar. Wluard. blund. Wluric̃. blund. Robt̃. de la Cleve, et Ricard. presbyter fr̃. ejus, Wiłł. angrou.[6]

The second charter of this Abbot contains a portion of his seal fastened on a strip of the charter. It is unfortunately made with perishable white wax, and is, therefore, very indistinct; on its surface, however, is represented a man in a sitting posture with his hands extended, and his drapery looped to the right shoulder. Round the seal, which was oval, was the legend now wholly lost with the exception of the letters LMA *i.e.* [ANSE]LM. A[BBAS]. It partakes somewhat of the character of the great seal of the Abbey, and is of great rarity. Indeed I am not aware of the existence of any other impression of Abbot Anselm's seal. The charter refers to the same family as the former one, and was probably granted ten years later, about 1140. By this charter the Manor of Hemegrede is granted to be held of the

[6] Leo, to whom this grant was made, was ancestor of the family of De Hemegrave, and his lands in Westley, denominated the Manor of Leo's Hall or Luce's Hall, were held together with Hengrave by his descendants, until the extinction of the male line in the reign of Henry V. Gage-Rokewode, Hist. Thingoe Hundred, p. 91.

High Altar of St. Edmunds, and of the Sacrist at an annual rent of 100 shillings, and 10 shillings to the Pitancier during the life of Talbot the prior, and after his death on his anniversary.

The text is, as follows:

"ANSELMUS dei gratia Abbas Sancti EADMUNDI. omnibus hominibus francis et anglis salutem. Sciatis quod ego petitione et concessu totius conventus sancti Eadmundi concessi Leoni et heredibus suis post eum, manerium de Hemegrede in feudum et in hereditatem ad tenendum de altari Sancti Eadmundi et de Sacrista de quo tradet ipse Leo et heredes sui post eum singulis annis ad altare centum solidos statutis terminis et in quinta feria. pasce. x. sol. ad pitanciam fratrum usque ad obitum domini Taleboti post obitum vero ejusdem Taleboti reddentur predicti decem solidi in die anniversarii sui unoquoque anno ad pitanciam. Quare volo et precipio quod bene et libere et honorifice Leo illud teneat et heredes sui post eum in terris, et in aquis, in viis in . . . . bus, in pratis, in pascuis, in molendinis, in exitibus in redditibus et in omnibus rebus sicuti unquam aliquis ante eum illud manerium quietius sive liberius tenuit. Prohibeo igitur nequis eis injuriam vel contumeliam aut molestiam inferat. ii sunt testes, Willielmus prior, Gocelinus, Ricardus Cardun, Eudo, Radulfus sacrista, Osauricius dapifer, Adam de Cochefeđ. Willielmus fil. Godboldi, Rodbertus filius ejus. Rodbertus de Haldstēd, Walterus de risebi, Reinaldus cam̃. G. de Melef. Obern. de medł. Jordanus pb̃r. Eadward de heppeworde."

Upon the death of Anselm in 1148, Ording, who had been previously elected in 1138, was again elected Abbot, and governed the Abbey for about 18 years, dying the 2nd. Nones of February, 1156. Of this Abbot no charter is in the collection. Brakelond describes him as an illiterate man, but one who ruled the house wisely.

He was succeeded by Hugh, Prior of Westminster, who was elected the following year, viz., 1157, receiving his confirmation from Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester. He was a zealous supporter of the rights and privileges of the monastery, and asserted his precedency over the Abbot of St. Albans, at the Council of Tours, in 1163. The banner of St. Edmund[7] was carried before King Henry the Second's forces, when they gained a victory over Robert de Bossu, Earl of Leicester, and his army of Flemings, near Farnham, in 1173, at which date Jocelyn de Brakelond commences his chronicle. He describes Abbot Hugh as an old man, with dimness of sight, a pious and kind man, a religious and good monk: but neither good nor provident in secular matters, who trusted too much to his own people, and leant more upon the counsels of others than upon his own judgment. Order and religion flourished in the cloister; but the servers, taking advantage of the age and simplicity of the master, did as they liked. The monastery became in debt to the Jews and others so as to become a matter of notoriety, and to call for a visitation from the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dissimulation was resorted to by all.[8] According to the chronicler, this state of things existed until the death of the Abbot, in 1180, when his house was plundered by his servants to such an extent that there were not even the means of paying for the customary religious offices and donations to the poor at his burial.

[7] An engraving of this banner, taken from the life of St. Edmund by Lydgate, the Monk of Bury, in the Harleian Collection, is given by Mr. Rokewood, at p. 104 of his work.

[8] Joc. de Brakelond, pp. 1–3.

Of the two charters of this Abbot, the first (of about the date of his accession) contains his seal in a very fine state of preservation, pendent from a slit in the base of the right-hand side of the charter; the seal of the monastery which occupied the left-hand side is gone. It is of brownish-red wax, oval, and represents the Abbot in a long gown with a crosier in his right hand, and a book in his left. The head is covered by a cap. Round the seal is the following legend SIGILLVM . HVG . . . . ABBATIS . SANCTI . ÆDMVNDI.

The text of this charter is as follows:—

"Hugo dei gratia abbas Sancti Eadmundi et Conventus, omnibus hominibus suis francis et anglis salutem. Sciatis[9] quod concessimus et firmavimus Vitali in feudum et hereditatem et suis heredibus omnis tenuras et donationes quas Abbas O. (Ording) dedit ei cum omnibus pertinentiis et pro eisdem serviciis. Scilicet terram q̃. fuit huberti in Hopent et Eungest pro annuo servitio videlicet vij. đ. et ob. et tercia parte unius ferndelli de foddre corn. Concessimus etiam ei et suis heredibus terram que fuit Reginaldi in Hopent pro ipso servitio faciendo, scilicet iij. đ. de hidagio et uno aechtendel avene. Preterea concessimus eidem Vitali in feudum et hereditatem terram quam Tovi cocus tenuit in Bertune et v acras de aula de Bertun tenendas pro j. summa brasii avene et v^{d}. et pro his consuetudinibus faciendum aule de Bertune. Arabit ad aulam iiij. acras

[9] This charter is remarkable for many unusual words occurring in it, some of which we are not at present able to explain satisfactorily. The following interpretations may, however, be accepted for the present:—"Ferndelli de foddre corn"—*i.e.*, one-quarter of an acre of oats; "uno aechtendal avene"—*i.e.*, one-eighth of an acre of oats; "brasii avene"—*i.e.*, a load of malt; "averam"—*i.e.*, a day's average work; "wardpenny"—*i.e.*, for watch and ward; "faldera"—*i.e.*, folds. It may be noted that Du Cange, in his explanation of "foddre-corn," refers to another charter of the same Abbey of St. Edmunds Bury.

duas in hyeme et duas in vere. In augusto xij. homines inveniet ad secandum et hos vel simł omnes uno die vel singulis duodecim diebus unum hominem. Ad auxilium semł in anno vj. đ. et ad averam ij. đ. et unum wardpein. dabit, et habeant ibi ipse et heredes sui libere et quiete faldera ccc. et LX. ovium. Concedimus etiam Vitali et suis heredibus in feudum et hereditatem unam totam infra villam Sancti Œdmundi tenendum de Cellario et viij. acras in campo pro qua tofta et acris dabunt omni anno xx. đ. cellario pro omni servitio. Precipimus igitur in istas tenuras Vitalis et sui heredes teneant bene et in pace et libere et quiete et pro predictis servitiis, et prohibemus ne aliquis alias consuetudines aut servitia eis imponat pro predictis terris. Hujus nostre concessionis testes sunt Sithricus prior, Hugo subprior, Frodo sacrista, Albinus cellarius, Sampson cant. Reginaldus cam. Tebaldus et Witł. Radulfus de Hast.' dāp. Roƀ. de Kokefeld, Hamo pecce, Galfridus Witł. Zacharias clerici, Berardus, Radulfus de Halstede, Rob. fil. Wibert. Walt.' fil. Roƀ. fił. Albold, Petrus de Broch, Turkis presbyter, Folcardus psƀ. Joh. clericus, Hunfridus de Bernicam, Witłs. fił. Galfridi magistri, Willielmus et Joh. filii Leonis, Herlewinus de Rungestun, Stephs. fił. ejus, Ricardus fił. Hugonis, Roƀ. de Nekert.

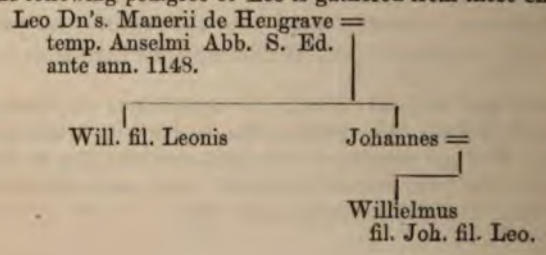
The second deed of Abbot Hugh (being a chirograph)[10] is a confirmation of Anselm's grant to Leo and his heirs of the Manor of Hemmegredhe and other lands, as follows :—

"Hugo dei gratia Abbas Sancti Ædmundi et Conventus. Omnibus hominibus et fidelibus Sancti Ædmundi, francis et anglis, Salutem. Sciatis quod nos concessimus et presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Willielmo filio Leonis et heredi-

[10] A *chirograph*, or handwriting, is so named from the word Chirographum, which was written between the deed and its counterpart and cut across. This was adopted to prevent forgeries. The deeds being delivered to the two parties interested were proved authentic by their matching with and answering each other.

bus suis post eum Manerium de Hemmegredhe cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in feudo et hereditate tenendum de sancto Ædmundo et de nobis. Preterea concessimus predicto Willielmo et heredibus suis post eum totam illam terram quam pater suus Leo tenuit in Westleia de aula de Fornham et terram quam tenuit in Cheventona de aula de Cheventona. Et terram quam tenuit in Sexham de aula de Sexham cum omnibus ad illas pertinentibus sicut predecessor nr̃ bone memorie Anselmus abbas omnia illa predicto Leoni dedit et concessit et carta sua eidem confirmavit et heredibus suis per idem servicium quod carte prenominati Leonis testantur Scilicet de Hemmegr̃. c. et x. soł annuatim reddendos statutis terminis. Et de terra de Westleia iiij^{or}. soł. ad aulam de Fornham. Et de terra de Cheventona iij. soł. ad aulam de Cheventon. Et de terra de sexham. xij. deñ. ad aulam de Sexham. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod predictus. W. et heredes sui post eum, prenominatas terras teneant bene et in pace libere et quiete in omnibus rebus sicut pater suus eas unquam melius et liberius et quietius tenuit. His testibus Maḡro. Gaufr̃. de Constantiñ. Maḡro. Jorđ. de Ros. Rađo. brian. Maḡro. Henrico. Huberto clerico. Beneđ. pb̃ro. Roberto de Chochefeld. Ernalđ. de Herlaun, conest'. Osberto de Glanvill. Rađ. de Halsteda. Johanne de Halsteda. Fulch̃. de Bradefeld. Wiłło. de Sexham. Normãno de Risebi. Alex̃. de Wridewłł. Alex̃. de Welvetham, Waltero fił. suo. Roberto de Horningesh̃r. Gilb̃to. fił. Rađi. Unfrido fił. drog̃. Ric̃. fratre suo Joh̃c̃. fił. leonis. Helia pincerna. Vitali. Hug̃. de Binford. Hug̃. de Columbẽrs, Osbt̃o. Avenant. Triano. Bodino.[11]

[11] The following pedigree of Leo is gathered from these charters :—



After the death of Abbot Hugh and a vacancy of two and a half years, Sampson[12] de Botington, or more correctly Totington, a native of Norfolk and a monk of St. Edmunds, was elected abbot and consecrated 2nd Kalends March, 1182, at Bishop's Waltham, in Hampshire, by the Bishops of Winchester and Waterford. He had, previously, served the several offices of subsacrist, pitancier, and sacrist with fidelity, so much so that Abbot Hugh was wont to say "that he never saw such a man as Sampson, the Subsacristan, whom he was not able to convert to his will."[13] Under his Government the Abbey was very much improved. At the time of the coronation of King Richard the First, a massacre of Jews took place at Bury St. Edmunds, which Abbot Sampson is said to have instigated.[14] It was known that he had after his election petitioned the King for their banishment from Bury St. Edmunds, having noticed during the rule of his predecessors the evil effects resulting from the intimacy which had subsisted between the monks and

[12] The description of the personal appearance and character of Abbot Sampson is most minutely given by his Chronicler, who states that he was of middle stature, almost bald, with a face neither round nor oblong, prominent nose, thick lips, bright and penetrating eyes, quick in hearing, with eyebrows growing upwards, which he often cut, and soon became hoarse with a little cold. On the day of his election he was 47 years old, having been a monk 17 years; he had but few white hairs in a red beard, and few still in his crisp black hair, but within 14 years after his election they all became white as snow. He was a very sober man, never idle, of good health, and able to go on horse or foot until old age overtook him. Brakelond, p. 29.

[13] Joc. de Brakelond, p. 5.

[14] This assassination of the Jews was general all over England, but was worse as soon as it was known that Richard, who had protected them as far as he could, had sailed from England in A.D. 1190. It was attended with extraordinary cruelties, and much heroism on the part of the Jews themselves at York, where it seems to have been worse than even in London. Vid. Will. of Malmesbury.

these people, who had been even permitted to place their money in the treasury of the Abbey, and to receive food from the pitancery of the Abbey for their wives and little ones. Abbot Sampson governed the Abbey for twenty-nine years. Of the three instruments granted by him and noticed here, two have portions of his Seal, representing him as a mitred abbot holding a crosier with his right hand and a book in his left. Around the figure is the following legend:—✠ SIGILLVM . SAMSONIS-DEI . GR . . . . ABBATIS . SANCTI . EADMVNDI. On the other side is the counter-seal of the Abbot, being an impression of a lamb carrying a cross around it—SECRETVM SAMSONIS ABBATIS.[15]

The third grant has lost the seal of the Abbot, but has retained that of the Abbey in very good condition. The King and Martyr is represented on a stool having in his right hand a sceptre surmounted with a *fleur-de-lis*, and in his left the orb, the face is bearded, and on the head is a crown. The sleeves of the robe are full and embroidered, and looped up to the right shoulder, around it is the following portion of the legend, ✠ SIGILLVM . . . . [MARTY]RIS.

[15] The date of the making of this seal is March, 1182. Abbot Sampson used the Seal of the Prior, signing each deed at the end, because he had not a proper seal of his own. It was also the first seal of the Abbot's made with the mitre. Rokewood has engraved another seal of Abbot Sampson, with the date of A.D. 1200, from the Archives of Canterbury Cathedral, v. frontispiece. Brakelond gives the following notice of the making of this seal:—"Dixit novum sigillum esse faciendum, et cum mitra esse pingendum, licet predecessores sui tale non haberent: sigillo autem prioris nostri hujusce usus fuerat, singulis literis in fine subscribens quod proprium sigillum non habuit, unde et sigillo prioris oportuit uti ad tempus." P. 29.

1

2

1 SEAL & SECRETUM OF ABBOT SAMPSON.

2 SEAL OF ABBEY OF ST EDMUND'S BURY.

The first charter is a grant of Infangentheof to William Carbonel, as follows:—

1. "S. dei gratia Abbas Sancti Ædmundi tam presentibus quam futuris Salutem. Sciatis nos dedisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Willielmo Carbonel et heredibus suis quandam libertatem que apellatur Infongenethef in villa sua de Chilton que est de feodo de Eya et furcas in eadem villa ad pendendum Latrones judicatos per visum servientum nostrorum. Tenend. de nobis et successoribus nostris reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris die festivitatis Beati Regis et Martiris Eadmundi unam libram incensi albi super altare suum. Et pro hac concessione et carte nostre confirmatione devenit predictus Willielmus homo noster. Hiis Testibus. Wiłło. de Gretingeham, Senescallo Sc̃i. Ædmundi. Ric̃. de Gosfeld, constabulario. Gaufrido de Amblie. Thom̃. de Mendham. Wiłło. de Amblie. Henr̃. de Kokefeld. Thom̃. Carbonel. Wiłło. de Tinetheshał. Adam de Falesham. Giłłeb. de Stagno. Waltero de Riseby. Briano de Meleford. Ric̃. de Falesham."

The text of the second is as follows:—

2. "Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Samson dei gratia Abbas Sancti Ædmundi Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et dedisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Waltero de Broch et heredibus suis Duas acras prati in Villa de Regrave que jacent in prato nostro quod vocatur Dammes juxta pratum Walteri palmarii. Tenendas de nobis et de successoribus nostris abbatibus Sancti Ædmundi illi et heredibus suis in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete per liberum servicium duodecim đen. annuatim reddendorum Aule nostre de Redgrave ad duos terminos in anno scilicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis sex đen. et ad pascha sex đen. pro omni servicio consuetudine et exactione. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod prenominatus Walterus et heredes sui habeant et teneant predictas duas acras prati plene et integre et honorifice per predictum ser-

vicium. Hiis Testibus Witto. de dice. et Ric̄. de Hely capellanis. Mag̃ro. Herveo. Mag̃ro. Rogero. Mag̃ro. Alexandro. Mag̃ro. Gileberto. Witto. de Cretingeham, señ. Gileberto de Stagnis. Rob̄. de Elmeswell. Mauricio, pincerna. Johe. coco. Petro de Broch. Adam de Herierd. Godefrido de Heli. Waltero de Tilneia. Johe. de Stantuñ. Waltero fratre suo. Wimero de Camera, et pluribus aliis."

The text of the third is as follows:—

3. "Samson dei gratia Abbas Sancti Ædmundi et totius conventus ejusdem loci . omnibus hominibus suis francis et anglis Salutem. Sciatis quod nos communi consensu et voluntate concessimus Benedicto filio Ric̄. de Blacheham et heredibus suis ad tenendum in feudum et hereditatem aput Thymworde terram que fuit Theodrici, salva consuetudine et rectitudine que Abbati Sancti Ædmundi debetur de illa terra et Cherlesworde in feudam firmam. Salva firma tali qualem eadem villa reddere solet. scilicet duas firmas per annum ad Cellarium Monachorum plenarie et preter has firmam que vocatur firma Sancti Ædmundi et preterea reddendo singulis annis ad extremam firmam de Ornigheseorđ. xx. soł. et lacheforde in feudam firmam. Quare volumus quod prenominatus Benedictus et heredes sui habeant et teneant prenominata tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis libere et quiete plene et integre sicut prescriptum est. Hec aū. concessio facta est in pleno Capitulo Anno incarnationis domini . M°. C°. XC°VIII°. Coram Roberto priore. Hermero subpriore. Joscelino Cellario. Hugon. Sacrista et Cañ. Ric̄. precentore. Mauř. et Herberto Cappeł. Mag̃ro. Stephano. Mag̃ro. Herveo. Mag̃ro. Rogero de Walsingham. Mag̃ro. Gilberto. Roberto de Flanvill, dapifero. Ric̄. de Hichewrde. Rob̄. de Haltstede. Galfrido de Walverham. Adam Talebot. Mauř. pinc̄. Saloman de Wepstede. Durando de Elmeswell. Radulfo Janitore. Johe de Lavardin. Johe de Pakeham. et multis aliis apud Sanctum Ædmundum .XVII°. Kł. Junii."

This grant to Benedict de Blakeham is printed, with some slight differences, by Gage, in his history of Thingoe hundred from "Lib. Cellarii Abb. Burgi S. Edmundi. Bib. pub. Cantab. G. g. 4, 4, fol. 409." The family of Blakeham continued Lords of Lackford to the 4th of King Edward II. living at Blakenham Hall, near the Church of Chelsworth. They bore for their arms azure, two barrs between twelve cross crosslets or.

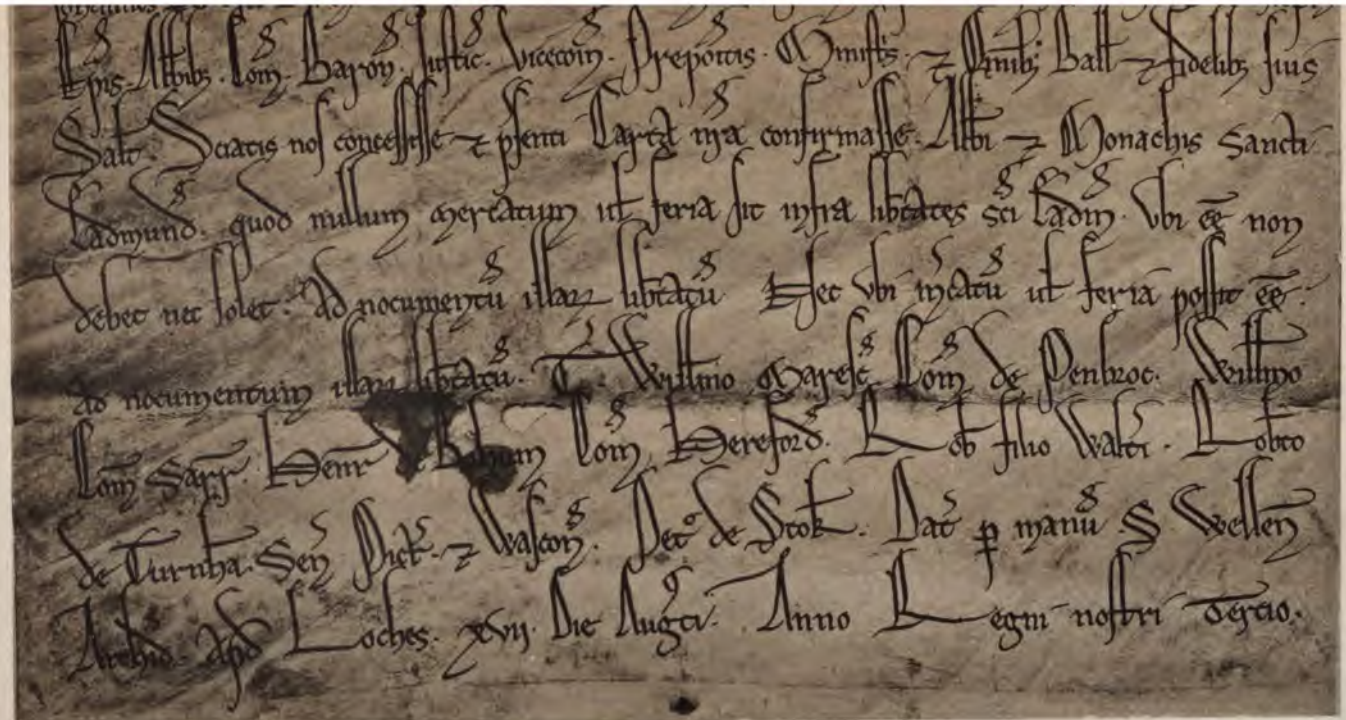
In the year 1201 a dispute arose between the monks of Ely and of Bury St. Edmunds concerning a market[16] that had been granted by the King to Ely but which was within the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds. The dispute not being able to be settled by a mutual arrangement, the monks of Bury St. Edmunds sued out a writ of recognition whether this new market was not prejudicial to the market of St. Edmunds; and, on the suit being determined in their favour, the King granted a charter to St. Edmunds as follows:—

"Johannes dei Gratia Rex . Angł. dominus Hibernie Dux Normannie Aquit. Comes Andegaviæ Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Comites Barones Justiĉ Vicecomites Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis, Salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et presenti Carta nostra confirmasse Abbati et Monachis Sancti Eadmundi quod nullum mercatum vel feria sit infra libertates Sancti Edmundi ubi esse non debet nec solet ad nocumentum illarum libertatum nec ubi mercatum vel feriam possit esse ad nocumentum illarum libertatum. T. Willmo. Maresĉ. Coñ. de Pembroc. Willmo. Com. Sarř. Henř. de Bohum. Coñ. Hereford. Rob. filio

[16] Brakelond mentions this dispute, and very possibly refers to this very charter. See p. 98.

Walteri. Robĭo. de Turnham Señ. Pict. et Wascon'. Petro de Stok. Dat. per manum S. Welleñ. Archid. apud Loches xvij. Die Augusti Anno Regni nostri Tercio.

As this Charter affords a remarkably good example of the beautiful handwriting of the time of King John, I have thought it worth while to have a *fac simile* made of it.



"CHARTER OF KING JOHN. A.D.(1201)"

XVIII.—ON SHAKESPEARE'S DRAMAS AS AFFORDING EVIDENCE OF THE POET'S NATURE-STUDY, AND HIS VARIED PRACTICE IN ASSIMILATING ITS RESULTS WITH THE MATTER OF HIS LITERARY COMPOSITIONS.

BY HENRY DIRCKS, C.E., ETC.

(Read December 18, 1872).

EVERY scholarly reader of Shakespeare's dramas, the more he becomes acquainted with them, and with the literature of the Elizabethan era and the age preceding it, feels that the style and language of our great dramatist possess a graceful but almost undefinable peculiarity, distinct from all other writers of his own or earlier times; and which has not been engrafted on the works of any of his successors to the present period. This peculiarity, which so gracefully distinguishes his compositions, has never been attributed to his classical learning, or to successful imitation of and improvement on his predecessors; nor, indeed, has it ever been attempted to show in what respect he differs in a literary point of view from all other poets, ancient as well as modern. We are consequently met in our inquiry by the very obvious suggestion that his superiority is traceable to genius and inspiration alone — a summary way of eluding a question when a reply appears difficult, if not altogether hopeless.

In the absence of a full, clear, and satisfactory

record of the life and times of the poet, opinion is mostly guided by the examination of his writings and by conjecture. We know nothing, however, with respect to his actual education, pursuits, and studies which can assist us in the present investigation; and we can only offer the proofs which his dramas afford in support of our position that, his writings are largely and eminently characterized by his innate love of Nature, doubtless improved and enlarged by experience, and by acquaintance with practical naturalists, whose pursuits may have had a peculiar charm for one of his mental temperament, delighting in all the admirable works of prolific Nature.

Mr. Charles Knight has pleasingly and graphically illustrated the poet's love for Stratford. He quotes from various plays numerous descriptive passages, and proves that they faithfully depict objects common to the poet's country life. Hazlitt, too, traces many rustic characters in the dramas to the same source. But some writers appear to think that his residence in London was inimical to the dramatist's loved pursuits, seeming to overlook the fact, that in Shakespeare's time the outskirts of the metropolis abounded with meadows, gardens, and even heaths, commons, woods, and forests. Again, the born naturalist would not lose his early proclivities in *that* direction by a simple change of residence from Warwickshire to Middlesex, Surrey, or Essex, or the garden of England, Kent, where new natural features would rather beget extended botanical and kindred pursuits. But the fact is, that the poet's scientific knowledge relating to Nature, although necessarily appearing superficial, may yet be sufficient to restrain

him from falsifying facts by the substitution of the fables of Pliny for the simple truths of Nature. More is not required from any poet, and all excess would prove a misapplication of his vocation.

Now, returning from this apparent digression to take, with all convenient brevity, a literary view of the subject under consideration, we may, without fear of contradiction, say that Shakespeare's mind, being less conversant with classical learning than with Nature's varied scenes, aspects, objects, and phenomena, he drew more largely on Nature than on Art for many expressions of figurative language in metaphors, similes, hyperboles, and other allusions to Nature in some form or other, physical or mental, and used more illustrations from that source than would have occurred to a classical scholar, well read in the poets of Greece and Rome, and the records of ancient mythology and history. It is most probable that he pursued this course quite unconsciously; and as the style it fostered appeared only in plays produced and acted from one year to another, this naturalistic process might easily pass unobserved,—particularly in an age far less critical than the present, with a press almost limited to book-printing, and the drama occupying a department of literature that did not hold a very dignified position in the sixteenth century, nor rise much superior in the next.[1]

More than thirty years have elapsed since the writer first remarked the peculiarity already hinted at—a peculiarity not easily to be described when first

[1] Sir Thomas Bodley, whose library is the pride of Oxford, accounted all plays to be mere "riffe-raffes."

discovered,—and which only became more and more apparent and developed as years rolled on and the experience was gathered by which contrasts were obtained between our dramatist and other authors. Careful investigation has proved that Shakespeare made a more frequent and peculiar use of Nature, as opposed to Art, than was the prevalent custom. But it was Nature in the sense of Creation; it was whatever was *not* Art, artificial, the work (mental or physical) of man. This feature evidently not only preponderated, but was wonderfully pregnant, from its not being conspicuous, although it did not always appear striking. And it became manifest, also, that even the very construction of his language partook more of Nature (in this wide sense), than was the case in the generality of the poetical productions of master-minds. Pope happily hits the expression for this when, in referring to Shakespeare, he describes "Nature speaking through him."

The work already published on NATURE-STUDY is a grammar which owes its origin to the foregoing circumstance; but there we do more than simply point out the fact, by showing progressively that in every great work of genius principles are developed which may be reduced to a sytematic arrangement, and thereby lead to an extension of what otherwise occurs without study, or certainly without any defined process of studying Nature, on the part of the poet or other writer whose labours we investigate. Much in the same way, indeed, many men become artists by the mere force of natural talent, but we do not on that account dispense with perspective, or other rules of

art. The art of studying Nature for the purposes of literary composition and of eloquence has never hitherto been considered; and yet it is from poetical and other productions that we obtain an insight into this art which indeed lies concealed in them.

Without going over the ground already preoccupied by what has been stated in the author's grammar of NATURE-STUDY, it may be mentioned here, with advantage, that we are speaking of and defining Nature with reference to its uses in poetry and eloquence, and with no other view whatever. We have to bear in mind, therefore, that we pre-eminently distinguish *Nature*, as comprehending the entire works of the Creator; and *Art*, as restricted to whatever is essentially the work of man.

Nature, as viewed by past critics, treated of "Man" as in a dramatic piece; and of "external Nature, or scenery," as developed in "descriptive poetry," and it was thought sufficient simply to *describe* man, mentally or physically; or, to *describe* the outward world of animate and inanimate Nature; no other applications of Nature ever being contemplated. And where one or both of these phases did not appear, the critic assumed, as a matter of course, the entire absence of any influences traceable to Nature itself. In this light even such a poet as Burns has been charged with not being distinctly a lover of Nature—a contrary opinion being maintained by Professor Wilson, and very properly so, but on grounds too limited and confined, because his claim was made to depend on *description;* as though this were all-important, instead of really being secondary in rank. The fact is that Burns is a striking example in modern times of

the higher influences of Nature on the poetic temperament; and as sharing his gifts in this respect, we must rank Shelley and Keats.

The real value of Nature-Study is the clear insight it gives into the character and operations of Nature, irrespective of *description*, as we shall show, in words, lines, couplets, and even in considerable passages.

We cannot, therefore, see any occasion to divide Nature; neither, if it must be divided, should it be looked on merely as "Man" and "external Nature;" the first being too limited, and the second suggestive of too complex an arrangement, even to the including of the first. If we treat of Nature throughout, as relating to the works of the Almighty, no complexity ensues; but division necessitates sub-division, and minute classification, which involves interminable difficulties without offering any commensurate advantage to the literary critic. When Dr. Johnson, Pope, or other commentators laud Shakespeare as the "Poet of Nature," we must cautiously avoid understanding these words to imply more than their authors themselves intended, as testified by their own discourses, in which everything they advance to support their arguments is restricted to effective "description" of character or of scenery. To treat of Nature in this style is not unlike speaking of "temples" and "architecture," as though the latter term by itself were insufficient.

With the decline of mythological figures, fable, and epithets in poetical diction, came a healthier tone in deriving something from Nature corresponding to and compensating for these. Prior is

accounted the last of the former race, and as he died in 1721, the subsequent adaptations of Nature in substitution for classic allegory have been neither rapid nor marked. Nature's latest, best, and most earnest devotee was undoubtedly Wordsworth, but we gather nothing from his poetical productions to induce a belief that he, any more than other poets, pursued a definite study of his favourite pursuit. He rather waited and worked as he felt inspired by accidental circumstances and occurrences, although he is frequently supposed to have entertained philosophical views which enabled him to take advantage of influences due to the presence of mountain ranges, valleys, and the other scenery of the lake district of Westmoreland and Cumberland.

It is evident that Art as well as Nature must have its place in poetry; all we have at present to inquire into is the use that may be made of Nature in the widest sense of that term. Among the important advantages of correct Nature-Study, we would not omit to mention the fact, that all figures of speech (hyperbole excepted), however slightly touching on Nature, are, or should be, in strict keeping with Nature's laws, even where least suspected, and likely in consequence to escape a reader's notice; thus, a slight absurdity is fatal to the value even of a simile. In this respect Shakespeare shows surprising tact and talent; and he is also remarkable for his marvellous accumulation of simile on simile, and so of other figures.

We shall now proceed at once to ascertain, as far as possible, the absolute practice of a master mind in this study, taking for the purpose the Play of—

KING HENRY THE FOURTH.—First Part.

This dramatic production does not afford examples of Descriptive Poetry, and we find only slight instances of Hyperbole, or negative views of Nature; whereas, in the Plays taken collectively, we have abundant examples of both these classes.

Both parts of Henry IVth abound in sketches of Human Nature—a characteristic feature, indeed, of all dramas; but many of these examples are more correctly classified here as illustrations of the poet's Imagination and Fancy. As the play relates to a period of civil war, it contains a large sprinkling of Meditative and Serious Poetry, and the Comic features are restricted to those scenes in which Falstaff principally figures.

We now proceed to give our illustrative examples, which must necessarily be as brief and explicit as possible, while giving prominence to the Naturalistic peculiarities to which it is the object of this paper to direct especial attention:—

I.—*Human Nature.*

ACT I.

SCENE I.

The King alludes to Hotspur as:

> A son who is the theme of honour's tongue;
> Amongst a grove, the very straightest plant.

SCENE III.

The King, complaining of indignities, says:—

> I will from henceforth rather be myself,
> Mighty and to be fear'd, than my condition.

He warns Worcester:—

——Majesty might never yet endure
The moody frontier of a servant brow.

Hotspur describes a courtier and coxcomb, in nearly forty lines:—

——His chin new reap'd
Show'd like a stubble-land at harvest-home.

. . . . . .
. . and still he smil'd and talk'd.

He thought "it was great pity,"—

This villainous salt-petre should be digg'd
Out of the bowels of the harmless earth.

Hotspur speaks of the valiant Mortimer, fighting "hand to hand" with Glendower:—

Those mouthèd wounds, which valiantly he took,
. . on the gentle Severn's sedgy bank.

And he declares:—

Yea, on his part I'll empty all these veins,
And shed my dear blood drop by drop i' the dust.

Worcester, alluding to Richard's death, says:—

And for whose death we in the world's wide mouth
Live scandaliz'd and foully spoken of.

The lords say of the King's designs:—

Imagination of some great exploit
Drives him beyond the bounds of patience.

Hotspur is reproved for his temper:—

Why, what a wasp-stung and impatient fool
Art thou to break into this woman's mood,
Tying thine ear to no tongue but thine own!

Angry with Bolingbroke, he says of him:—

—— Where I first bow'd my knee
Unto this king of smiles, this Bolingbroke,

. . . . . .

Why, what a candy deal of courtesy
This fawning greyhound then did proffer me!

ACT II.

SCENE III.

Hotspur receives a letter of excuses for not joining him and his party. He reads and comments ironically at the same time:—

'Tis dangerous to take a cold, to sleep, to drink; but I tell you, my lord fool, out of this nettle, danger, we pluck this flower, safety.

He further declares the writer to be "a frosty-spirited rogue."

A characteristic interview between him and his wife follows; she describes personal changes which she has observed in him, while, on his part, he determines to give her no political information:—

Why dost thou bend thine eyes upon the earth,
And start so often when thou sitt'st alone?

. . . . . .

Some heavy business hath my lord in hand,
And I must know it, else he loves me not.

Annoyed at his reticence and prevarications, she exclaims:—

—— Out, you mad-headed ape!
A weasel hath not such a deal of spleen
As you are tossed with——

Thinking of war solely, he says to Lady Percy:—

> Away,
> Away, you trifler!—Love?—I love thee not,
> I care not for thee, Kate: this is no world
> To play with mammets and to tilt with lips.

To soothe her, after this badinage, he admits:—

> —— Constant you are;
> But yet a woman: and for secrecy,
> No lady closer; for I well believe
> Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know,—
> And so far will I trust thee, gentle Kate.

ACT III.

SCENE I.

Glendower informs Hotspur that Lancaster, in speaking of him, says he "wisheth you in heaven." To which Hotspur retorts, adding, "And you in hell."

Glendower is reputed a "magician" by some, and he is a faithful believer in omens and portents of all kinds. He declares:—

> I say the earth did shake when I was born.

Adding afterwards:—

> The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes.

Being ridiculed by Hotspur, he protests:—

> I can call spirits from the vasty deep.

And so proceeds through ninety lines. Among his superstitious beliefs were:—

> ——A dragon and a finless fish,
> A clip-wing'd griffin and a moulten raven.

An amusing episode takes place between Mortimer, who speaks only English, and his wife, who only understands Welsh :—

> I understand thy kisses, and thou mine,
> And that's a feeling disputation.

SCENE II.

The King, in an address of forty-two lines, counsels Prince Henry how to conduct himself before his being crowned, offering his own example and experience :—

> And then I stole all courtesy from heaven,
> And dress'd myself in such humility
> That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts.

His predecessor, he says :—

> Enfeoff'd himself to popularity ;
> That, being daily swallow'd by men's eyes,
> They surfeited with honey, and began
> To loathe the taste of sweetness, whereof a little
> More than a little is by much too much.

He warns the Prince of Hotspur's superiority in other respects to himself, his station excepted :—

> He hath more worthy interest to the state
> Than thou, the shadow of succession ;
> For, of no right, nor colour like to right,
> He doth fill fields with harness in the realm ;
> Turns head against the lion's armèd jaws ;
> And lords and others he leads to bloody battle.

The Prince promises to reform his conduct, and hopes his so doing—

> —— May salve
> The long-grown wounds of my intemperance.

ACT IV.

SCENE I.

The King's army advancing on the rebels, Hotspur inquires respecting the Prince of Wales:—

> —— Where is his son,
> The nimble-footed madcap Prince of Wales,
> And his comrádes, that daff the world aside,
> And bid it pass?

Worcester makes a long explanation to the King by way of apology for his joining the rebel party. He recounts the King's early career, when,—

> —— In short space
> It rain'd down fortune showering on your head;

so that "a flood of greatness" fell on him. But he soon forgot his oath. Worcester adds that,—

> —— Being fed by us, you us'd us so
> As that ungentle gull, the cuckoo's bird,
> Useth the sparrow,—did oppress our nest.

Until at length:—

> —— With nimble wing
> We were enforc'd, for safety-sake, to fly
> Out of your sight, and raise this present head.

SCENE II.

Worcester foresees and declares that, he and his party will never regain the King's full confidence:—

> He will suspect us still, and find a time
> To punish this offence in other faults.

Vernon reports candidly to his party respecting the Prince:—

> He made a blushing cital of himself;
> And chid his truant youth. ——

SCENE IV.

The Prince of Wales says, on meeting Hotspur:—

> Two stars keep not their motion in one sphere;
> Nor can one England brook a double reign,
> Of Harry Percy and the Prince of Wales.

He then threatens his adversary:—

> And all the budding honours on thy crest
> I'll crop, to make a garland for my head.

Hotspur, mortally wounded by the Prince, says:—

> But thoughts the slaves of life, and life time's fool,
> And time that takes survey of all the world,
> Must have a stop ——

II.—*Meditative, Religious, Moral, and Serious.*

ACT I.

SCENE I.

The King, addressing his attendants, speaks of the troubled times, commencing:—

> So shaken as we are, so wan with care,
> Find we a time for frighted peace to pant.

And rejoicing in expected peace, he says:—

> No more the thirsty entrance of this soil
> Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood;

—the whole passage occupying thirteen lines.

SCENE II.

The Prince of Wales being alone at a tavern soliloquizes, alluding to his base companions:—

> I know you all, and will a while uphold
> The unyok'd humour of your idleness;

—and considers himself in the light of the clouded sun, awhile shorn of its rays, arguing:—

> If all the year were playing holidays,
> To sport would be as tedious as to work.

SCENE III.

Worcester promises his cousin:—

> And now I will unclasp a secret book,
> And to your quick-conceiving discontents
> I'll read you matter deep and dangerous,

—that is, relating to State secrets.

ACT III.

SCENE II.

The King admonishes the Prince:—

> —— Yet let me wonder, Harry,
> At thy affections, which do hold a wing
> Quite from the flight of all thy ancestors.

ACT IV.

SCENE III.

Vernon recommends delay to recruit the horses that "came but to-day:"—

> And now their pride and mettle is asleep,
> Their courage with hard labour tame and dull,
> That not a horse is half the half of himself.

ACT V.

SCENE IV.

Hotspur, being slain by the Prince of Wales, the Prince says of him :—

> Ill-weav'd ambition, how much art thou shrunk!
> When that this body did contain a spirit,
> A kingdom for it was too small a bound;
> But now two paces of the vilest earth
> Is room enough.

III.—*Imagination and Fancy.*

ACT I.

SCENE I.

The comprehensive character of this division of our extracts causes it frequently to trench on some one or more of the others, which, however, is of little real consequence.

In speaking of the late civil war, the King says :—

> No more shall trenching war channel her fields,
> Nor bruise her flowrets with the armèd hoofs
> Of hostile paces: those opposèd eyes,
> Which, like the meteors of a troubled heaven,
> All of one nature, of one substance bred,
> Did lately meet in the intestine shock
> And furious close of civil butchery.

SCENE II.

He likens young Hotspur to being—

> Amongst a grove, the very straightest plant.

The Prince of Wales compares his mixing in low society to the over-clouded sun :—

> Yet herein will I imitate the sun,
> Who doth permit the base contagious clouds

To smother-up his beauty from the world,
That, when he please again to be himself,
Being wanted, he may be more wonder'd at,
By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
Of vapour that did seem to strangle him.

SCENE III.

The King blames himself for having been of too easy temper:—

Which hath been smooth as oil, soft as young down;

having thereby lost some "title to respect."

He is very angry with Mortimer, saying:—

No, on the barren mountains let him starve.

The personal conflict between Mortimer and Glendower is described as taking place—

When on the gentle Severn's sedgy bank,

upon agreement, they drank "of swift Severn's flood:"—

Who then, affrighted with their bloody looks,
Ran fearfully among the trembling reeds,
And hid his crisp head in the hollow bank
Blood-stained with these valiant combatants.

Hotspur upbraids Northumberland and Westmoreland for engaging themselves—

To put down Richard, that sweet lovely rose,
And plant this thorn, this canker, Bolingbroke.

Worcester offers to communicate State secrets:—

As full of peril and adventurous spirit
As to o'er-walk a current roaring loud
On the unsteadfast footing of a spear.

ACT II.

SCENE III.

Hotspur's wife, reminding him of his change of manner, and his sleeplessness, observes, that:—

—— Beads of sweat have stood upon thy brow,
Like bubbles in a late-disturbèd stream.

ACT III.

SCENE I.

Glendower alluding to the lords parting from their wives, says:—

—— There will be a world of water shed
Upon the parting of your wives and you.

Glendower translates for Mortimer his wife's request, made in Welsh.—

Upon the wanton rushes lay you down,
And rest your gentle head upon her lap,
And she will sing the song that pleaseth you,
And on your eyelids crown the god of sleep,
Charming your blood with pleasing heaviness;
Making such difference betwixt wake and sleep,
As is the difference betwixt day and night,
The hour before the heavenly-harness'd team
Begins his golden progress in the east.

ACT IV.

SCENE I.

The reformed Prince of Wales, in his military character, is described by Vernon, one of the rebel leaders, who says that he rose—

—— From the ground like feather'd Mercury,
And vaulted with such ease into his seat,

As if an angel dropp'd down from the clouds,
To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus,
And witch the world with noble horsemanship.

Hotspur says of the royalist party:—

—— Let them come:
They come like sacrifices in their trim,
And to the fire-ey'd maid of smoky war.
All hot and bleeding, will we offer them.

And of his horse he says that it is to bear him—

—— Like a thunderbolt,
Against the bosom of the Prince of Wales.

ACT V.

SCENE I.

The King remarks on the appearance of the morning of battle:—

How bloodily the sun begins to peer
Above yon busky hill! the day looks pale
At his distemperature.

The Prince adding:—

The southern wind
Doth play the trumpet to his purposes;
And by his hollow whistling in the leaves
Foretells a tempest and a blustering day.

Being waited on by Worcester, a leader of the rebels, he admonishes him to return:—

And move in that obedient orb again
Where you did give a fair and natural light
And be no more an exhal'd meteor,
A prodigy of fear, and a portent
Of broachèd mischief to the unborn times.

Worcester, in a long address, recounts the King's early career, and his neglect, when raised to the throne, of those who aided him :—

—— But in short space
It rain'd down fortune showering on your head ;
And such a flood of greatness fell on you,—
What with our help, what with the absent king,
What with the injuries of a wanton time,
The seeming suffrances that you had borne,
And the contrarious winds that held the king
So long in his unlucky Irish wars.

. . . . . .

But his object once attained, charges him with forgetting oaths and friends, continuing :—

And, being fed by us, you us'd us so
As that ungentle gull, the cuckoo's bird,
Useth the sparrow,—did oppress our nest ;
Grew by our feeding to so great a bulk,
That even our love durst not come near your sight
For fear of swallowing ; but with nimble wing
We were enforc'd, for safety-sake, to fly
Out of your sight, and raise this present head.

IV.—*Similes.*

1. There are not many Similes in this play. In the first scene of the first act, " civil butchery " is spoken of as arising from—

—— Those opposèd eyes
Which, like the meteors of a troubled heaven,
All of one nature, of one substance bred,

met in personal conflict " in the intestine shock.

2. The King excuses his too easy temper :—

Which hath been smooth as oil, soft as young down.

3. Worcester says that, the danger of making certain political communications, is—

As full of peril and adventurous spirit
As to o'er-walk a current roaring loud
On the unsteadfast footing of a spear.

4. In a fiercely angry mood Hotspur says :—

—— O, the blood more stirs
To rouse a lion than to start a hare!

5. His wife, Lady Percy, not being trusted by him with political secrets, declares :—

A weasel hath not such a deal of spleen
As you are toss'd with ——

6. The King informs his son of his own early career :—

By being seldom seen I could not stir
But, like a comet, I was wondered at.

Whereas his predecessor, who made himself too common—

—— Was but as the cuckoo is in June,
Heard, not regarded ——

7. The Prince and his comrades are described by a rebel leader as :—

—— All furnish'd, all in arms;
All plum'd like estridges that wing the wind;
Bated like eagles having lately bath'd;
Glittering in golden coats, like images;

As full of spirit as the month of May,
And gorgeous as the sun at midsummer;
Wanton as youthful goats, wild as young bulls.

8. Worcester, alluding to the rebel party, observes—

Treason is but trusted like the fox.

Here the fourth line is purely Art.

V.—*Negative Views of Nature.*

The instances of negative views of Nature in the first part of the play of Henry IV. are neither numerous nor striking. We notice, first, Glendower, who has the reputation of being a "magician," and who superstitiously believes in:—

—— A dragon and a finless fish,
A clip-wing'd griffin, and a moulten raven.

We have next, the personification of the river Severn, when Glendower and Mortimer fought on its banks, and coloured its water with their blood:—

Who then, affrighted with their bloody looks,
Ran fearfully among the trembling reeds,
And hid his crisp head in the hollow bank
Blood-stainèd with these valiant combatants.

We have another example, when Northumberland and Hotspur confer about the King's designs. Hotspur says:—

—— Methinks it were an easy leap,
To pluck bright honour from the pale-fac'd moon;
Or dive into the bottom of the deep,
. . . . . .
And pluck up drownèd honour by the locks;

The fourth example is afforded by Falstaff's remark relating to the Scot:—

> Douglas, that runs a-horseback up a hill perpendicular.

VI.—*Comedy.*

The Comic Scenes, which form the last portion of this drama that we shall examine, derive their chief interest from Shakespeare's singular talent in employing the resources of Nature to give life, character, and pungency to what might at first appear least susceptible of such treatment. The inimitable Falstaff is, of course, the centre of attraction, and with much truth he assures us—

> I am not only witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men.

The Prince of Wales addresses him:—

> Farewell, thou latter spring! farewell, All-hallown summer.

In the scene of the highway robbery at Gadshill, Falstaff designates the runaways, "stony-hearted villains," and declares there is no more valour in Pointz "than a wild-duck."

In the second Act, he and his companions appear "as merry as crickets;" while he alludes to reasons "as plenty as blackberries." He tells of the Scot—

> Douglas, that runs o'horseback up a hill perpendicular,

He is great in wise saws, speaking of "the camomile" that grows the more it is trodden; and asks shall the blessed "sun of heaven eat blackberries?"

He approves his own virtue, that is "if the tree

may be known by the fruit;" and shortly after he falls asleep, "snorting like a horse."

In the third Act he informs us that he is "withered like an apple-John." He designates the hostess as "an otter," protesting "she's neither fish nor flesh." He professes not to fear the Prince "as a man," but only as a "Prince:"—

> I fear thee as I fear the roaring of a lion's whelp.

It is the King alone he fears "as the lion."

In the fourth Act we meet with his celebrated body of recruits, fearing the report of a gun:—

> Worse than a struck fowl or a hurt wild duck.

They having, he avers "their hearts in their bellies."

In regard to himself he acknowledges,—

> I am as vigilant as a cat to steal cream.

The strain in which he descants on honour need not be repeated at length; he will have none of it, finding that honour cannot "set to a leg," or "an arm," or "take away the grief of a wound, being of itself "insensible."

The last scene of this drama closes with Falstaff's playing the part of a counterfeit on the field of battle, acknowledging that—

> The better part of valour is discretion; in the which part I have saved my life.

The critical remarks on the First Part of Shakespeare's play of Henry IVth, which we thus bring to a close, will suffice to exemplify how a sys-

tematised method of Nature-Study may be applied, among others, to a special examination of the works of our great dramatist. We have here the fullest evidence of the poet's peculiar propensity to draw largely for illustrations on Nature, where other poets of his own and earlier times would have appealed to Art. Wherever he can do so, he graces his compositions with draughts from actual living and surrounding Nature. Compared with Ben Jonson, Marlowe, or Chapman, for example, the difference in their styles is strikingly significant, and his possession of this characteristic will probably hereafter be found highly serviceable in assisting to decide on the share he may have taken in the joint production of certain disputed dramas.

This is not the place to enter upon a detailed exposition of the practical utility of a critical examination such as the present review affords. It has an importance, however, that lies far deeper than any superficial view can fathom, inasmuch as an investigation of this character goes to the very germ of true poetic feeling itself; which lies far beyond the efforts of either word-painting, as regards scenery, or the nicest possible discrimination of all shades of human experience as affecting age and station in all classes of active life. He who investigates and masters this inquiry to its full extent, cannot fail to trace the curious workings of fruitfully inventive imagination and fancy, operated on by actual broad world-wide Nature, developing itself in every species of novelty that similes, hyperboles, and other happy and impressive figures of speech can contribute to our language, whether in poetry or oratory.

XIX.—THE KARIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY A. H. SAYCE.

(Read May 28, 1873.)

CERTAIN inscriptions have been found in Egypt, for the most part in company with Greek epigraphs, which Lepsius has with great probability conjectured to be Karian. Ten in all have been met with, four on the legs of the colossi in front of the temple at Abuisimbel, four at Abydos, one at Memphis, and one at Zagariz (Bubastis). Unfortunately all are short, none exceeding two lines, and the alphabet as well as the words are obscure. Along with the four found at Abuisimbel are some Aramaic and Greek inscriptions, the latter giving the names of certain mercenaries who accompanied Psammetikhus in his pursuit of the Egyptian deserters who had fled into Ethiopia through jealousy of the foreign soldiery. For the longest of the Greek epigraphs see Pl. No. 1. It may be translated thus: "when King Psamatikhus came to Elephantine, his companions, the sons of Theokles wrote these lines. They sailed and came above Kerkhis where the river rises. Dekhepotasimto, as his foreign name is, Amasis in Egyptian, wrote. Damearkhôn the son of Amœbikhus, and Pelephus from nowhere." The other Greek legends,

22. — K ..... k.
23. — Λ, Λ ..... l.
24. — M, M M ..... m.
25. — N, N, M ..... n.
26. — Γ, (?) Γ ..... p.
27. — P, 4, P, D ..... ʔ
28. — M, M ..... s.
29. — ↑, ↑ ..... t (?).
30. — X, X ..... t
31. — Ψ, Ψ, ↓ ..... ps (?) (Lykian Ψ = ʃ ḣh)
32. — ⧗, ⧗ ..... *
33. — ⋈ ⋈ ..... *

22. — K.
23. — Λ.
24. — M
25. — N.
26. — Γ, Theraean and Lykian Γ
27. — P, D.
28. — M.
29. — T.
30.
31. — Doric Vases. Ψ = X
32.
33.
34. — Ω = (ω)

22. — K
23. — Λ Λ
24. — M
25. — N
26. — Γ
27. — P
28. — M, Σ
29. — ↑
30. — T
31. — Ψ, Ψ, ↓
32. — ⧗, ⧗
33. — ⋈
34. — Ω

run thus: (2) "Pabis the Kolophonian with Psammatikhus led (ηαγεσε) Hermokrithis wrote . . . . . and the king led (η? γασε) the army;" (3) "Egesibus the Teian;" (4) "Têgephus wrote me, the son of Agusius;" (5) "Python the son of Amœbikhus." Dr. Haigh has suggested to me that Dekhepotasimto, the foreign name of Amasis, is Karian; but I have not detected any word in the so-called Karian epigraphs which can be compared with it. That these are Karian, however, admits of little doubt if we consider the company in which they are found and the fact that the foreign mercenaries employed by Psammetikhus and his successors are expressly said by Herodotus to have been Karians and Greeks (ii. 152, 154). Indeed, we find from the cuneiform annals of Assurbanipal that it was through the help of Gyges, King of Lydia, that Psammetikhus was enabled to overthrow the Assyrian domination in Egypt and the vassal princes set up by them—the dodekarkhy of Herodotus—and to establish himself as sole and independent monarch. The troops sent by Gyges, therefore, were the "brazen men" of the oracle (Herod. ii. 152), whom the Greek historian explains to be Ionians and Karians. Hence we should expect to find Karian soldiers recording their names together with their Greek comrades. To verify this conclusion, all that was wanting was to find a similar alphabet and language in Karia itself; and this has been done. While the Phrygian, Lykian, and Kyprian inscriptions differ essentially from those which we are now considering, there is a close similarity between the alphabet of the latter and of a legend discovered on a rock-tomb among some ruins—per-

haps those of the ancient town of Krya or Kryassus—in the Gulf of Scopea by Messrs. Forbes and Hoskyns in the year 1842. The inscription was published in the Journal of the Geographical Society, and attention was drawn to it by M. Lenormant in the 'Revue Archéologique' in 1870. It differs from the Egyptian epigraphs in two particulars; a new character (Ω) is introduced, unless this is but another form of , and the words are not divided. This important assistance is afforded us by all the Egyptian legends, partly by means of lines (as on the Moabite stone) and partly of two dots (as in Ethiopic). The values of the characters, however, have yet to be determined; and before doing this, it would be useful to see what we can glean from classical authors regarding the Karian language and its affinities.

On the one side Karia touched upon Lykia, on the other upon Lydia and Phrygia. Judging from the Lydian words preserved in classical writers, such as *ἀγκών* "the corner of a wall," *Νύμφαι* "the Muses," *σάρδις* "year" (*sard* in old Armenian, *särd* "summer" in Ossetic), the complexion of the language was thoroughly Aryan; and this was still more decidedly the case with regard to Phrygian, where we have the decisive testimony of Plato in the 'Kratylus' (p. 410 A.) and of the inscriptions copied by M. Texier.[1] Lykian, on the other hand, as we have it in numerous inscriptions, is non-Aryan, and may possibly claim its relationship in Georgian or one of

[1] Fick, in an excellent article in Kuhn's 'Beiträge,' vii. 3, shows that the Phrygian language belonged to the European and not to the Iranic portion of the Aryan family.

the many Caucasian dialects. But it may, like Etruscan, be a waif of one of those innumerable languages which the first energies of speech produced, and which it has been the part of progressive civilization to diminish and destroy. In any case, we have first to learn whether Lydian or Lykian was most nearly allied to Karian. Here we have an important witness in Herodotus, whose birth and education in Halikarnassus must have afforded him ample means of discovering all that could be known about the Karians and their origin, and whose statements regarding the character of the language ought to be received without dispute. According to Herodotus (i. 171, 2), the Karians originally inhabited the islands, and were by far the most renowned nation of antiquity. With this agrees the belief of Thukydides,[2] who calls the old inhabitants of Delos, whose bodies were exhumed by Pisistratus, Karians,[2] and the appearance of the formidable naval enemies of the Egyptian kings of the nineteenth dynasty, whose name, *Tok-kari*, and helmet, shield, and tunic, incline us to identify them with the people of Karia. Herodotus tells us that it was from the Karians that the Greeks derived the crest of the helmet, and the handle and device of the shield. Their original name was Leleges, which reminds us of the Skythian Leges of Strabo and their neighbours the Ligyes in the Caucasus, as well as of the Ossetic *lag* "man;" and they were driven from the sea-coast by Ionian and Dorian invaders. All this, however, derived by Herodotus from the "lying" Kretans, was denied by

[2] Thukyd. i. 8.

the Karians themselves. They claimed to be autochthonoi, and to have always borne the same name, which throws doubt not only on their identification with the Leleges, whom the Homeric poems distinguish from the Karians (Il. x. 429) and place at Pedasus (easily confounded with the Karian Pedasa) on the Troad river Satnioeis (Il. xxi. 87), but also on the statement of Steph. Byz. (derived from Epaphroditus) that Karia was once called Khrysaoris. At the same time, they considered themselves sufficiently near akin to their northern neighbours to say that Kar was a brother of Lydus and Mysus. This is corroborated by the fact that the ancient temple of the Karian Zeus at Mylasa—a town whose foundation was referred to Mylasus, son of Khrysaor—was open and common to Karians, Lydians, and Mysians alone, even tribes like the Kaunians, which spoke the same language as the Karians, being excluded from it. The Kaunians, on account of their peculiar customs, are regarded by Herodotus as aborigines, who had either given their language to the Karians or borrowed it from them. Their own belief was that they had originally come from Krete. They may be Homer's Kaukônes, who are associated with the Leleges. The near affinity of the Karians and Mysians, again, may account for the local names common to both the countries, like Pedasus mentioned above. The Karians appear among the Asiatic allies of the Trojans under the command of Nastes and Amphimakhus, with the epithet *βαρβαρόφωνοι*. This gave needless trouble to the commentators; Apollodorus imagining that it was used by the Ionians by way of contempt, Strabo that it was due to some defect in

pronunciation, noticed by the Greeks more especially in the case of a people with whom they were brought into intimate connection. Philip of Theangela, who wrote a history of the Karians and Leleges, opposed the notion that the epithet was due to the peculiarly harsh and uncouth nature of the language. Of course it merely meant a language that was unintelligible to the Greeks, the same word being applied to the Persians by the Oracle in Herodotus: it was used more particularly of the Karians, owing to their close intercourse with the Ionian and Dorian colonies. In the time of Xerxes, Herodotus tells us (viii. 135) a Karian would not have been understood by a Greek.

We are thus justified in concluding that the Karian dialect was not far removed from that of Lydia, was unlike Greek, though not necessarily non-Aryan, and was of a harsh character, the natural result of a superabundance of consonants and a consequent loss of vowels. That the language was not identical with Lydian is clear from the fact that while the two nations were ethnologically connected, the Karian tongue is classed with that of the Kaunians, whose nationality is uncertain. These general conclusions are justified by the scanty remains of the language that are preserved in classical writers. Now it must be remembered that the lazy contempt and euphonic sense of the Greek made him a peculiarly bad reproducer of foreign words; and that these once written down were exposed to all the dangers of miscopying. At the same time, the Karian words we possess, are given as explanations of local names, and consequently are in great measure preserved from

both of the dangers mentioned above, though without doubt the names themselves were slightly Grecised. The list is as follows:—*Ἄλα*, we are told, signified "a horse," *βάνδα* "victory." This is given by Steph. Byz. as an explanation of the name of the town Alabanda, and is borne out by the name *Ὑλλού-αλα*, which the same geographer says is "the horse of Hyllus." If these statements can be accepted, Karian would have agreed with the Aryan languages (as with Lykian) both in the formation of compounds and the use of the genitive with the nominative in so far that the governed word is placed first. There would be a genitive ending, moreover, in *-ου*, as in Greek, and we should have a nominative in *-α*. At the same time, *-anda* seems a common termination in Karian; thus we find Kadyanda, Kalynda, Piginda, Telandrus and Telandria, and above all Labranda, which is explained by the Lydian *λάβρυς* "a hatchet" (Plut. Quæst. Gr. vii. p. 204), an implement carried by the tutelar god of the town.[3] Moreover, Alinda (which must be compared with Piginda) and its inhabitants, Ali(n)dienses or Halydienses, have the gloss "seu Hippini" in Pliny (N. H. v. 29); thus implying that *-anda*, *-inda*, *-unda*, were used to form adjectives in Karian, perhaps like *dyin* or *tyin* in Ossetic. The Phrygian river Alander is possibly another formation of the same kind and from the same root, to be compared with the Karian Mæander, whose name reminds us of the Lydian river Maiôn and the old title Mæonia, which may be connected with the Lydian *μωῦς* "land." Just as Alander was a

[3] Another word which is given as common both to Karian and to Lydian is *γλοῦι*, "a robber."

Phrygian river, so Herodotus calls Alabanda a Phrygian town (viii. 136). In Gaelic *al* is "horse," in Albanian *ala* is "quick;" but Lagarde's comparison with the Sanskrit *arvva(n)* "a horse" is to be preferred, whatever we may think of his reference of *banda* to the root which we have in the Persian *dêw-band*, our *bind*. Two other Karian words preserved in Stephanus are σοῦα "tomb," and γέλα "king," found in the name of the city Souagela, which claimed to possess the tomb of Kar. The second word also occurs in Theangela; but the compound transgresses the rule which we just now inferred and exhibits a Semitic and not an Aryan formation. Perhaps it is not a compound, but a nominative and genitive.

The next word given by Stephanus is not quite clear. Monogissa is explained by -γισσα "a stone," and Stephanus goes on to say that the Greeks call flat soft stones γίσσα, which, according to Ruhnke, is the Greek γεῖσον "the eaves of a house."[4] Unfortunately there is a lacuna before the first γισσα, and it strange that the first part of the name should be is left uninterpreted. *Issa*, again, is a common ending of Karian towns, as in Themissus, Dedmasa, Pedasa, Mylasa, Kandasa, Hárpasa, Kybassus, Iassus, Kyrbasa, Narkasus, Peigelasus, Prinassus, Sindêssus, Tnyssus, Hygassus, and Kryassus, by the side of Krya. This last town is assigned to Lykia by Stephanus, but the inscription found in its neighbourhood is Karian. Pliny gives it the epithet "fugitivorum" (v. 28), as though the word meant something to that effect. A more important instance of the

[4] Compare the name of the Cornish village Meva-gissey.

termination is Tymnissus, which, in spite of Stephanus, is clearly the same as Tymnus (like Krya and Kryassus). According to Stephanus τυμνισσός signified "a rod," for the people of Xanthus called a rod τυμνία. Perhaps the termination denoted collective adjectives. Compare the Sanskrit *-asya(s)*, Greek *-ιος*, at once genitival and adjectival.

Another word admitted into the Karian vocabulary is κολαβρισμός "a Thrakian and Karian dance in full armour." We cannot, however, conclude from this that the word is of Karian origin, whatever the dance may have been; indeed, it cannot be at once Thrakian and Karian. Nor does the word κύβδα, which Makhon, as quoted by Athenæus (xiii. p. 580 D.) makes a Karian weight, disclose much. We cannot even be sure that the word has been accurately handed down.

The case is different with τουσσύλοι "dwarfs," a Karian word by which Stephanus explains Kattouza, "a Thrakian town in which the dwarfs used to live." This notice is curious as bearing out the connection between Thrake and Karia assumed in the dance, κολαβρισμός. Mr. Ellis compares the Ossetic *tyüsül* "little;" and *ghau* "village." The resemblance is certainly striking. In the Ossetic *-ül* is formative, as may be seen by a comparison with the Armenian *doyzn* "small;" and Stephanus implies the same in giving the word as a gloss of τουζα. The termination is not unfrequent in Karia; thus we have Mausôlus, Argila, Bargylia, Samylia founded by *Motylus*, and Sôbala. Mausôlus and Motylus may be compared with the Lydian Myrsilus, or such Greek names as Sthenelus. Cf. Latin and Sanskrit forms like *agilis* and *an-ila(s)* ("wind.")

The next word we have to consider is *Osogo* or *Ogoa*. According to Strabo (xiv. p. 659). Zeus Stratius was worshipped at Mylasa under the title of Zeus Osogo; Pausanias (Arcad. 10) gives it as Zeus Ogoa. The word would signify "army," and the final *a* which appears in Pausanias would seem to be the case-ending to which I have before drawn attention.[5]

Other surnames of the Karian Zeus, as given by Lagarde (Gesammellte Abhandlungen) are *Παναμαρος* or *Πανημέριος*, *Ῥεμβήνοδος*, and *Ναρασος*. The last word is another instance of the termination *-as-*. Dionysus was called *Μάσαρις* or *Μάρσαρις*, as the name is spelt in some MSS. The ending may be compared with that of *Πανάμ-αρος*, and Lagarde reminds us that *Μάσταυρα* was a Lydian city, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, which derived its name from *Mâ*, the attendant of Rhea and nurse of Masaris or Dionysus. *Ma* can hardly be separated from the Greek *Maîa* of the same origin as *μητὴρ*, *mamma*, and perhaps *mānus*. Lagarde compares *Μάσαρις* with Bassareus, the well-known epithet of Dionysus, which is said to come from a Thrakian and Lydian word *βασσαρα*, "a kind of garment, probably made of fox-skin." Another Karian god was *Ἴμβαμος* or *Ἴμβρακος*, identified with Hermes by Steph. Byz. (s. v. *Ἴμβρος*). Lagarde no doubt rightly prefers the reading *Imbramus*. The connection of Karia with Imbros, which Herodotus says (v. 26) was inhabited by Pelasgians, like Lemnos, is noteworthy. Lemnos is nothing more than *λαμπνὸς* "the blazer" from *λάμπω*, Sansk. *dip*, in reference to its early volcanic activity, and we may

[5] It is unfortunate that the first syllable of the word is uncertain.

therefore expect to find a similarly Aryan etymology for the name of its companion island. The name of Lemnos, however, is not only Aryan, but Western Aryan; and so is the next Karian word on our list. This is κῶς "a sheep," as Tzetzes (Lykophr. 644) writes it, or κόος as it appears in Eustathius (Hom. 318). We find the derivatives κῶας "fleece" and κώδιον in Greek; but the island of Κῶς is probably to be referred as by Curtius to another root κυ (Sansk. *kwi*), whence we get κυέω, κοῖλος, κυλλήνη, *cavi*, and κόοι, "hollows."

The last contribution we can make to the Karian vocabulary is τάβα "a rock." Stephanus states that there were two cities called Tabæ; one in Lydia, the other in Karia, the first of which was founded by Marsyas the brother of Kibyras, who named it from its situation on a rock. The two cities, however, are probably identical, the Karian town being said by Strabo to have had a mixed population of Phrygians, Pisidians, and other nations. We here have another nstance, like *labrys* and *glous*, of a word common to both Lydians and Karians. This, indeed, might have been expected, from the proximity of the two peoples; though so old a city as Labranda could hardly have derived its name from a word which belonged to a wholly alien language. This inclines us to the belief that the two nations were linguistically as well as ethnologically related, a belief corroborated by a comparison of forms like *toussyli* and *Myrsilus*, by the common Ossetic affinities of such typically Lydian vocables as *sardis*, and such typically Karian words as *toussyli*, and by the reappearance of Karian local names in Mysia. In-

deed *Mysia* itself is temptingly like the Karian proper name Mys (Herod. viii. 133). Now we know that the languages of Mysia and Lydia were closely akin (Mysian was *μιξολύδιον* and *μιξοφρύγιον*, according to Strabo on the authority of Xanthus; and cf. Herod. vii. 74). On the other hand, we miss in Karia, the distinctive Lydian Attis, Sadyattes, Alyattes, Gyges, while we have the feminine Ada and the masculine Pixodarus[6], Altes, Lygdamis (?), Idrieus, Mausôlus, and Aridolis, though the last two seem to claim connection with the termination which meets us in the Lydian *ἄτταλος* "cessation," *βαθυῤῥηγάλη* "kite," and *καυδαύλης* "dog-choker," where the Aryan *s'wan*, *κύων*, is unmistakable. Perhaps, too, we may compare the Karian *γέλα* and the Lydian *κοαλ-αδεῖν* "king."

It is now time to return to the inscriptions. We shall expect to find a great abundance of consonants, a genitive in *-ου*, nominatives in *-a*, formatives in *-l*, and -r, and adjectives in *-nda*, with the governing word placed after the governed. Our first difficulty is the alphabet. Like the Lykian, it is clearly based on some Greek original, which it has modified and perhaps enlarged. Altogether there seem to be between thirty and forty characters; some of them, therefore, probably represent double letters. The comparative table of alphabets will show that the Karian is based upon the Korkyræan, and so far attaches itself rather to the Dorian than to the Ionian colonists. Thus the distinctive or finds its analogue in the Korkyræan for *ε*. At

[6] Compare *Panam-arus* and *Mas-aris*.

the same time the alphabet has added many new characters; these, however, with the single exception of , are formed out of the primary letters, and are met with in Greek and Italian alphabets with various values. Even may be compared with the Lykian (*ū*), or Cypriote (*pi*, *fi*). The inscription from Karia presents us with a new letter *Ω*: this inscription, however, is clearly a bad copy, as is evident from the fact that and do duty for several distinct characters; consequently I should conjecture that the similarity of the Greek *omega* has led to a wrong transcription of . At the same time *Ω* is found in the so-called Keltiberian alphabet as it appears on Spanish coins. Now this alphabet, as may be seen from the table, is strikingly like the Karian. In fact, and and perhaps are the only letters wanting in it, though it has some additional forms. I can only explain this strange similarity by supposing that the Karian and Spanish alphabets were introduced by the same people. Samos lay opposite Miletus not far from the coast of Karia, and had intimate relations with Miletus, which the Iliad still calls Karian. Now the Samians were the first Greeks who discovered Spain, one of their ships having been carried to Tartessus by stress of weather, and thus procuring for some time a monopoly of mercantile intercourse. Possibly, therefore, the alphabet elaborated in Karia, was carried

by Ionian merchants to the inhabitants of Spain. Unfortunately, in spite of the attempts of Lenormant, De Saulcy, Akerman, Boudard, Heiss, and others, the Keltiberian alphabet is still uncertain, and presents us with the difficulty that the legends seem often to consist of consonants only—a difficulty which will also meet us in the Karian inscriptions.

Before examining the epigraphs, it is necessary to recollect that the characters cannot always be depended upon. In the first place it is exceedingly difficult to copy an old worn-out inscription accurately, when the alphabet, or even the language, is unknown. Then, secondly, the Egyptian inscriptions are due to the idle leisure of illiterate soldiers, whose skill in writing cannot have been great; hence we may expect to find as many badly-formed characters as in analogous Greek inscriptions. Accordingly when we see a we may feel sure that the last stroke of has been omitted either by the original scribe or by the copyist; just as certainly ought to be ; and in all probability is, and or are . Then, again, there is likely to be a confusion between letters of similar form.

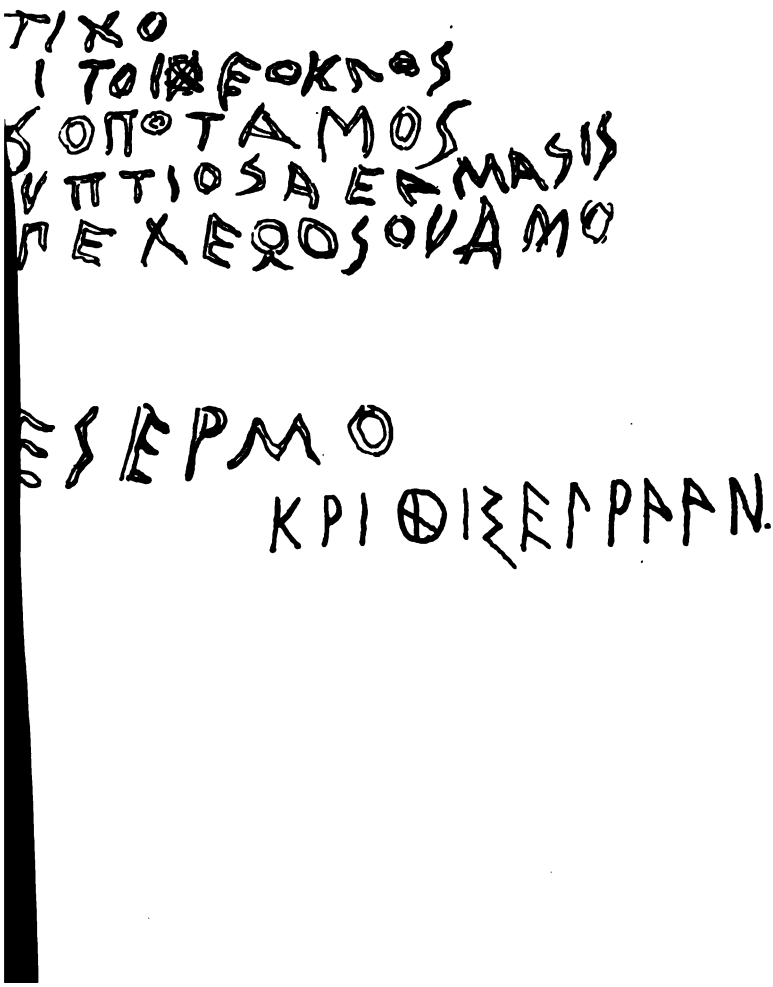
The inscriptions, it is clear, read sometimes from left to right, sometimes from right to left. The rule, however, of Greek epigraphy, that inscriptions are to be read according to the way towards which the letters look, does not seem to hold good.

Owing to the shortness of the epigraphs, the grammatical terminations are not numerous. It is

here that we are so much aided by the fortunate division of the words in the Egyptian legends by means of straight lines. The most common termination is that in , which seems twice to occur as . Now and are the characters which most frequently recur, the first being found thirteen times, the second nineteen times. They must therefore be vowels. The second letter I would compare with the Korkyræan which $=\epsilon$; the corresponding character in Lykian has the value *oû*. It seems to be a vowel also in Keltiberian. Consequently I value it as *e*. The second letter must be a modification of *o*, as in Keltiberian: I should sound it *o*. The formative termination in question, therefore, will be *eo*. Now the position of the words in which it occurs, shows that it must mark the genitive; Pl. III. Inscr. 3, for instance, could not be anything else. This genitive in *-εο* is quite Greek, and will agree with the genitive which we detected in Ὑλλού-αλα. We may compare the Ossetic genitive. The proper name *Efafseo* in Inscr. 3 ending *-ay*, *-iy*, *-uy*; in Greek *E* Ϝ *a* Ϝ *σεο*. "Cf. Evausa" reminds us of the numerous Karian names that terminate in *sa*, or *sus*. Another termination which is twice repeated in the same inscription is . Here the final *n* is clear enough; a comparison with the Keltiberian and Theræan would make the first character

a modification of *o*. Now considering that it is attached to the second and fourth words in the epigraphs, which must be proper names, the analogy of the Greek would lead us to infer that it marked Gentile words. In this case the termination would resemble the Greek *-ην* as in *Ἕλλην*, or the Ossetic gentile adjective in *-ón* as in *Ir-ón* from *Ir*. I would read the first four words of this inscription (denoting doubtful letters by italics) as follows:—*Ps*-a-*k*-*h*-t--t, L-ai-r-ô-n, A-*-w-ou-*-r, N-ai-th-u-r(?)-ô-n. Unfortunately the fifth character in the last word is so badly formed, that it is impossible to say what it represents: the word, however, perhaps refers to Nisyrus, an island and an island-town close to the island of Lĕros, which the Milesians had colonized. The Karian mercenaries of Psammetikhus would naturally come from the seacoast and the neighbourhood of the Ionians. I assign the value of *ai* or *ει* to the second letter of the two epithets partly because a vowel is wanted, partly from the analogy of the Keltiberian, partly because the character seems a modification of . The conjunction "and" seems to occur in Inscr. 1 between two words which both end in the same letter, the second being followed by the genitive. The first letter is *ū*, the second may represent or ; in the Tomb-inscription it appears to be (*th*). Compare the Ossetic *œmæ* "and," Armenian *ev*, Albanian *e*. The last word in this inscription I should conjecture to mean "son," following its genitive, like *tedeeme* in Lykian. The

Plate II.



Perhaps Karia will furnish us with a bilingual legend; until then our attempts at decipherment must be more or less tentative. The chief interest of the inscriptions lies in their contribution to the history of the alphabet.

P.S.—Since the foregoing was written, Sir Charles Nicholson has kindly enabled me to add another epigraph to the list of Karian Inscriptions already known. The Inscription itself is now in the Museum at Sydney, but I have been allowed to copy two squeezes of it, and a photograph of it is in the possession of the Royal Society of Literature.

The legend occurs on a *stele* which Sir Charles Nicholson obtained at Memphis, and which cannot be earlier than the period of Psammetichus. It consists of a line and a half, composed of three words, at the foot of an Osiriade Epitaph of the ordinary kind in Egyptian Hieroglyphics, which belongs to a person called Petosiris, the son of Petiris. The legend is given in Plate 2, No. 12:

The Inscription cannot be a bilingual one, since the three Karian words would not represent the long Hieroglyphic Epitaph above them. We may, therefore, consider the Karian to be of a later date than the *stele* on which it has been engraved, or else to be a note of the sculptors. Short as it is, the inscription is very valuable. It proves the fact that the Karian might run from left to right, as well as from right to left; and the second character of the first word (*ŭ*) fixes the value of the first character as *κ*. We thus find that the Karian possessed the distinctively Aryan sound *w* or *qu*. The grammatical terminations of

the three words are also new. Supposing that the first word is a substantive followed by two genitives, the flexion *o-th-o* or *th-o* might be an instrumental ("by the hand of") or a dative ("for the resting-place of"). Compare *qui-es*, *κεῖ-μαι*, etc. Possibly, however, it is the first or third person of a verb. The two remaining words have the same ending *t-e*, and will, therefore, be in apposition to one another. The second may be an epithet, but I should prefer to regard it as a proper name, the preceding word being a patronymic, which goes before it, according to what seems to be the usual rule in Karian. We may compare Greek patronymics in *-ιδης*. The last word contains the curious character , which is probably another form of , and is a plain instance of an inherent vowel being attracted to a liquid. The two names may remind us of *Μαυ-σωλος* Arido-lis. Plate 3 contains copies of Karian, Korkyræan, and Keltiberian Alphabets.

ERRATA.

Page 217, *for* forword, *read* for word.
Page 253, *for* ingluvici, *read* ingluvie.
Page 253, *for* Daneæ, *read* Daniæ.
Page 256, *for* aptuis, *read* aptius.
Page 268, *for* Mathew, *read* Matthew.
Page 270, *for* jugi, *read* jugo.
Page 288 *note*, *for* Frederick, *read* Frederic.
Page 295, *for* The, *read* the.
Pages 295 and 296, *for* and, *read* und.
Page 300, *for* Hallwell, *read* Halliwell.
Page 302, *for* religion, *read* irreligion.
Page 304, *for* 1598, *read* 1589.
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